

AN
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE and WRITINGS

OF
JAMES the FIRST,
King of *Great Britain*.

After the Manner of Mr. BAYLE.

Drawn from
Original Writers and State-Papers.

By WILLIAM HARRIS.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non
audeat.* CICERO.

L O N D O N:

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P R E F A C E.

THE design of the following sheets is to give a fuller and more distinct view of the character of king James the first, than has ever yet been exhibited by any writer. It is readily acknowledged that this character is in itself, a very mean and despicable subject; but as it was attended with very extensive and important consequences both in his and the succeeding reigns; so it is humbly presumed that an attempt to illustrate that period of English history which falls within the plan of this subject, will meet with a favourable acceptance from the public.

There are inserted in these papers a great number of curious and interesting facts, entirely omitted by our historians, who seem to have very little consulted those original writers, and state papers from whence the following account is chiefly compiled.

The author does not think it necessary to make any apology for the freedom of his reflections; but only to declare that they were not made for

the sake of pleasing or displeasing any sect or party in church or state; but wholly intended to serve the cause of liberty and truth. He professes himself inviolably attach'd to the civil and religious liberties of mankind; and therefore hopes the reader will indulge him in that warmth of his resentment, that honest indignation, that is naturally raised by every instance of persecution, tyranny, and oppression; provided he has not any where expressed himself in a manner unworthy of the character of a gentleman or a christian.

For the rest it is hoped that the curious will find some entertaintment, if not information, in this account; and that they will pardon the faults and imperfections of it, for the sake of its general tendency and design.

One thing the judicious and impartial reader will, at least, not be displeas'd with, viz. that as the authorities here quoted are the most authentic in themselves, so the manner of quoting them is the most unexceptionable and just, that is in the very words, letters and points of the respective author, by which the reader may be infallibly certain that their sense is rightly represented.



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E R R A T A.

PAGE	Line	
5.	29.	<i>for aspertions, read assertions.</i>
7.	8.	<i>for foul, read soul.</i>
25.	15.	<i>for detached, read detected.</i>
26.	23.	<i>for purity, read parity.</i>
27.	25.	<i>dele in.</i>
38.	24.	<i>for wierns, read wierus.</i>
44.	17.	<i>for procopins, read procopius.</i>
58.	4.	<i>for and when, read or not.</i>
96.	3.	<i>in the note for Peter, read pater.</i>
104.	32.	<i>for suanez, read suarez.</i>
111.	26.	<i>for spalaſto, read ſpalatto.</i>
118.	2.	<i>for feliatione, read filiatione.</i>
136.	28.	<i>dele one.</i>
138.	19.	<i>for Mr. read Dr.</i>
149.	9.	<i>for this, read they.</i>
151.	15.	<i>for amſſador, read ambaffador.</i>
179.	29.	<i>for mamrice, read maurice.</i>
182.	14.	<i>for heredithry, read hereditary.</i>
195.	1.	<i>for ta, read to.</i>
215.	28.	<i>for lawleis, read lawleſs.</i>
216.	3.	<i>for poſſibly, read poſſible.</i>
241.	23.	<i>for ſubſect, read ſubject.</i>
247.	21.	<i>for coutd, read could.</i>

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LAND OFFICE

FOR THE YEAR 1844

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A N
HISTORICAL and CRITICAL
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
L I F E and W R I T I N G S
O F
J A M E S I.
King of *Great-Britain.*



JAMES STUART, the sixth of that name in Scotland, and first in England, was born June 19, 1566. He was the son of Henry Lord *Darnley* (son to Matthew earl of *Lennox*, by Margaret *Dowglas* daughter to the widow of *James* the fourth, who was the eldest daughter to *Henry* the seventh of England,) and *Mary* queen of

B

of

The LIFE of JAMES I.

of Scots, the only child of *James* the fifth, king of Scots, who was son of *James* the fourth and *Margaret* his queen, the said eldest daughter of *Henry* the seventh of England. The murder of a favourite secretary (A) when she was great with child, in her

(A) A favourite secretary, &c.] This was the famous “ *David Rixio*, or *Riscio*, an Italian, a merry fellow and good musician, who was taken notice of first of all on account of his voice. He was drawn in (says *Melvil*) to sing sometimes with the rest, and afterwards, when the queen’s French secretary retired himself to France, he obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence *how* to manage the same rightly. For frequently in presence of the nobility, he would be publickly speaking to her, even when there were the greatest conventions of the states. Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatours to be subscribed by her majesty. So that some of the nobility would frown upon him, others would shoulder him and shut him by, when they entered the queen’s chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For those who had great actions of law, new investments to be taken, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at court, or in law suits before the session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich.” (a) Here was great familiarity we

(a) Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, p. 54. Fol. Lond. 1683. See likewise the history of the church of Scotland by archbp.

see, and such as could not be much to the credit of a sovereign princess. For ’tis expected that such a one should maintain her rank, and scorn to stoop to those who have neither birth nor breeding. But *Mary* gave herself up to *David*, and was advised by him in things of the utmost importance. This appears from *Melvil*, who knew them well, and likewise from *Spotswood*.

For

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3

her presence, had such an effect on this her son, that even through his life he could not bear the sight of a drawn sword. He was placed in the throne after his mother's forced resignation, July 25, 1567, being but little above a year old. He had the famous George

B 2

Buchanan

For both these assure us, he was the person, the only person who prevailed on the queen to marry Henry lord *Darnley*. She at first disrelished the proposal, but thro' means of *Rixio*, "she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him." (b). No wonder then common fame was not favourable in her reports of *Mary*, and that the envious and ill-natured hinted things reproachful to her virtue, I pretend not to say any thing criminal passed between the queen and her secretary (though her affair, after her husband's death, with *Bothwell*, would induce one to suspect her not incapable of a familiarity so dishonourable); but I think, all men must allow that things were not so decently managed between them as they ought. Persons of an elevated rank, should strive not only to be good, but to appear so; and careful to act in so pure and unexceptionable a manner, that envy itself may not be able to blast their reputation.——However *Mary* had little regard to what the world said. She continued her favour to her fiddling secretary, 'till a violent death put an end to it, to her great horror and amazement. *Rixio*, though he had procured the queen for *Darnley*, could not long continue in his favour; suspicions being put into his head, he consented to his murder, which was perpetrated in the following manner, "At six o'clock at night, when the queen was at supper in her closet, a number of armed men entered within the court, and going up into the closet (where the king was leaning on the queen's chair) overthrew the table, candles, meat and dishes. *Rixio* took the queen about the waste, crying for mercy, but George Dowg-
" las

Spotswood,
p. 189, 193.
edit, 3d. Fol.
Lond. 1668.

(b) Melvil,
p. 55. and
Spotswood,
p. 189.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he seems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great aversion (B). During

(c) Melvil,
p. 64.

(d) Spots-
wood, p.
195.

(e) Digby of
the power of
sympathy,
p. 188. at
the end of
his discourse
on bodies.
4to. Lond.
1669.

“*las* plucked out the king’s dagger, and struck *Rixio*
“ first with it, leaving it sticking in him. He making
“ great shrieks and cries, was rudely snatched from the
“ queen, who could not prevail either with threats or
“ entreaties to save him. But he was forcibly drawn
“ forth of the closet, and slain in the outer hall, and
“ her majesty kept as a captive.” (c)—But they had
no commandment from the contrivers so to kill him,
but to bring him to public execution. “And good it
“ had been for them so to have done, or then to have
“ taken him in another place, and at another time
“ than in the queen’s presence. For besides the great
“ peril of abortion which her fear might have caused,
“ the false aspersions cast upon her fame and honour
“ by that occasion, were such as she could never di-
“ gest, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that after-
“ wards ensued.” (d) The fright and terror the queen
was in at the sight of the drawn sword, so far influenced
the child in her womb, that “Sir Kenelm *Digby* as-
“ sures us, he had such an aversion to a naked sword
“ all his life-time, that he could not see one without a
“ great emotion of spirits; and though otherwise cou-
“ ragenous enough, he could not over-master his passions
“ in this particular. I remember, adds he, when he
“ dub’d me knight, in the ceremony of putting a na-
“ ked sword upon my shoulder, he could not endure
“ to look upon it, but turned his face another way;
“ insomuch that in lieu of touching my shoulder, he
“ had almost thrust the point into my eyes, had not
the duke of *Buckingham* guided his hand aright.” (e)

(B) The famous George Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he seems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great aversion] *Buchanan’s* merit needs not to be celebrated by me. His fame as a polite

ring his minority the kingdom had several regents, viz. his uncle the earl of *Murray*, his grandfather the earl of *Lennox*, and the earls of *Mar* and *Morton*; with the latter of whom the nobility being dissatisfied, he

B 3

was

polite writer, and a man of deep learning and solid judgment, is establish'd on the most lasting foundations (a). Even those who dislike most of all his principles, refuse not to give him his due praise. And I need not be afraid to assert that his writings will be read and admired as long as learning in this part of the world shall live. *Melvil* says, he "was a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin
"poesie, much honoured in other countries, pleasant
"in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities
"short and instructive, whereof he had abundance,
"inventing where he wanted." (b) A tutor this, worthy a great prince, and fit to form the mind to virtue and politeness! for I doubt not but he discharged with honour the duty of his trust, and did what in him lay to inspire his pupil with just opinions, and elegant sentiments. But his labour was in vain. For it does not appear that *James* improved any thing by his master, or studied at all to copy after him, for his writings are wholly pedantic; his stile low and mean; his arguments taken from those barbarians the school men; and his method of treating his adversaries was after the manner of your country controvertists, inspired with the most fervent zeal. Abundant proof of these aspersions will be found in the extracts I shall give of some of his writings in the ensuing notes. However not contented to disgrace his tutor by his want of improvement, he treated him with contempt also and reproach. Thus for instance, when the authority of *Buchanan*, for resisting kings, was alledged by cardinal *Perron*, *James* replies, "*Buchanan* I reckon and rank among poets,
"not among divines, classical or common. If the man
"hath

(a) See *Thuanus's* judgment of him in *Bayle's* Dictionary, article *Buchanan*, note (H)

(b) *Melvil*, p. 125. See also *Spotswood*, p. 325.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

was obliged to quit the regency, and James entered upon the government March 12, 1578. Too soon, it may easily be supposed,

(c) The Works of the most high and mighty prince James, by the grace of God, &c. published by James bishop of Winton, 1616. Lond. Fol. p. 480.

“ hath burst out here and there into some terms of
 “ excess, or speech of bad temper; that must be im-
 “ puted to the violence of his humour, and heat of his
 “ spirit.” (c)——What a contemptible way of speaking
 of a tutor is this, more especially of so great a man as
Buchanan? Had *Buchanan* been ever so wrong in his o-
 pinion, the least sense of decency or gratitude should
 have restrained his pupil from speaking of him after such
 a manner. Next to parents, tutors (if they have dis-
 charged their parts well) have always been thought to
 have deserved honour*; and those who have refused
 to give it, have been branded with baseness and ingrati-
 tude. For to form the mind to knowledge and virtue,
 to teach youth prudence, self-government, and proper
 behaviour, is a work of labour and merit; and such as
 perform it are entitled to gratitude and respect.——But
 in another place *James* plainly discovers his hatred and
 aversion to the memory of his instructor; for he styles
 his *History an infamous invective*. “ I would have you,
 “ says he, to his son prince *Henry*, to be well versed
 “ in authentick histories, and especially in our own
 “ histories:——I mean not of such infamous invectives
 “ as *Buchanan’s* or *Knox’s* chronicles: and if any of
 “ these infamous libels remain unto your days, use the
 “ law upon the keepers thereof.” (d) I will leave the
 reader

(d) Id. p. 176.

* *Dii majorum umbris tenuem & sine pondere terram,
 Spirantesque crocos, & in urna perpetuum ver,
 Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
 Esse loco*

Juv. Sat. VII. v. 207.

In peace, ye shades of our great grandfathers rest,
 No heavy earth your sacred bones molest:
 Eternal spring, and rising flow’rs adorn
 The relics of each venerable urn,
 Who pious reverence to their tutors paid,
 As parents honour’d and as Gods obey’d.

CHARLES DRYDEN.

sed for his own honour, or the welfare of his Subjects. He was greatly in the power of his favourites the duke of *Lennox*, and the earl of *Arran*, through whose instigations he performed many unpopular actions (C). Whereupon being seized by the

B 4

earls

reader to make his own remarks on the baseness of this passage, and the littleness of that soul that was capable of writing it concerning a preceptor. I will conclude this note by observing that the probable causes of this hatred of the memory of *Buchanan* were the part he had acted against his mother; the principles of his history, which were opposite to the notions of regal power entertained by James; and the great awe in which he held him in his youth, according to Melvil (e). I would (e) Melvil, have it carefully observed, that this history styled by P. 125. *James* an infamous invective, is said by archbishop *Spotswood* to be "penned with such judgment and eloquence as no country can shew a better." (f). (f) Spotswood, p. 325.

(C) He was greatly in the power of his favourites, the duke of *Lennox* and the earl of *Arran*, &c.] The duke of *Lennox* was cousin-german to *James's* father; the earl of *Arran* was captain *James Stuart*, promoted to that dignity at the expence of the house of *Hamilton*, unjustly deprived of it. "The duke of *Lennox* "was led by evil council and wrong informations, "whereby he was moved to meddle in such hurtful "and dangerous courses, that the rest of the nobility "became jealous of his intentions, and feared their "estates. As for the earl of *Arran*, they detested his "proceedings, and esteemed him the worst and most "insolent instrument that could be found out, to "wrack king, kirk and country. The duke had been "tolerable, had he happened upon as honest counsellors, as he was well inclined of himself: but "he wanted experience, and was no ways vers'd in the

earls of *Mar* and *Gowry*, with others of the nobility as he returned from hunting, and conveyed to Ruthven castle, they obtained a charge for the duke of *Lennox* to depart the country, and for the confinement of the earl of Arran (D). This was followed by a proclamation

(a) Melvil,
p. 131.

(b) Lives and
characters of
the officers
of the
crown and
state of Scot-
land, by
George
Crawford,
Esq; p. 137.
Fol. Lond.
1736.

(c) Id. p.
331.

“ the state of the country, nor brought up in our reli-
“ gion, which by time he might have been brought to
“ have embraced. But the earl of *Arran* was a scorn-
“ er of religion, presumptuous, ambitious, covetous,
“ careless of the commonwealth, a despiser of the no-
“ bility and of all honest men.” (a) Hopeful coun-
sellors these for a young king! and admirably fit for
governing a kingdom. And yet these were the men
who carried all before them, and obtained honours and
estates by wholesale. *Arran* from a “ private gentle-
“ man was made gentleman of the bed-chamber,
“ knighted, made a privy counsellor, and tutor of *Ar-
“ ran*. A few weeks after he was made captain of
“ his majesty’s guards, and created earl of *Arran*.” (b)
“ *Lennox* in a few days after his appearance at court,
“ had a grant of the lordship of *Arbroath*, then he was
“ created earl of *Lennox*, governor of *Dumbarton* castle,
“ captain of the guard, first gentleman of the bed-
“ chamber, and great chamberlain of Scotland, and
“ duke of *Lennox*.” (c).—These sudden promotions
to honour, and places of profit to such men, must ne-
cessarily have been very unpopular and distasteful, and
could not but be highly resented. However ’tis but
justice to *James*, to acquaint the reader that he was
very young, and consequently most easily drawn aside
by those who had influence over him; and therefore
more excusable than he was in misplacing his favours
afterwards, as he almost always did.

(D) Being seized by the earls of *Mar*, &c. they
obtained a charge for the duke of *Lennox* to depart the
country

clamation from the king, discharging the commissions which he had formerly given them, and declaring that in so doing he acted not by compulsion. However having regained his liberty, he turned out of place those who had been enemies to his favorites, and insisted on such of the nobilities asking pardon as had been concerned in the affair of *Ruthven*; which causing a confederacy and a rising,

country, and for the confinement of the earl of *Arran*, &c.] “As the king was returning from stag-hunting “in *Athole*, in his way towards *Dumferling*, he was “invited by the earl of *Gowry* to his house of *Ruthven* “near *Perth*. The earl, who was at the head of the “conspiracy, instantly sent to advertise his friends of “what had happened. Whereupon several of the discontented nobility, and all those that were in the “English Interest at hand, repaired to *Ruthven*, where “without any ceremony they resolved to detain the “king, and keep him prisoner. The next day when “the king was essaying to get out, they stopt him; “wherefore growing into a passion and weeping, Sir “*Thomas Lyon* boldly, though rudely told him, it was “no matter for his tears, *better that bairns greet than* “*bearded men.*” (a) After they had him in custody they presented a supplication to him, “representing “the false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions they had suffered for two years, by means “of the duke of *Lennox*, and the earl of *Arran*, the “like whereof were never heretofore borne in Scotland.” Upon this representation, the king, sore against his will, sent orders to the duke to leave the kingdom, who obeying, died soon after at *Paris*, and the earl was confined for a time. Before this a Proclamation had been issued forth, “declaring that it was his “own voluntary act to abide at *Perth*; and that the “noble-

August 23.
1582.

(a) Crawford, p. 332. Spotswood, p. 320. See also Melvil, p. 129, &c.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

a rising, issued in the death of the earl of Gowry (E), in revenge of which, as was said, his son engaged in the conspiracy so much talked

(b) Spott-
wood, p.
321.

“noblemen and others that attended him, had done
“nothing but what their duties obliged them unto,
“and which he took for a good service performed both
“to himself and the commonwealth.” (b) But all this
was a mere act of dissimulation, and the effect of constraint. As soon as he was at liberty he returned to the same courses, and behaved after his wonted manner. For favourites he must have, and so their pleasure was consulted, no matter how the kingdom was pleased.

(a) Melvil,
p. 183.

(E) Having obtained his liberty, he insisted on such of the nobility's asking pardon as were concerned in the affair of Ruthven, &c.] *James* was never a man of his word. We see just now, that by proclamation, he had allowed what was done at *Ruthven* to be good service, and he moreover had desired the kirk “to find it
“good for their parts, and to ordain the ministers and
“commissioners of every shire to publish the same to
“their parishioners, and to get the principal gentlemen's subscription to maintain the same.” (a) But no sooner had he got his liberty, but he acted quite differently from what he had declared to be his sentiments. *Arran* was introduced again into court, “was made
“Chancellor, captain of the castles of *Edinburgh* and
“*Stirling*, and ruled so as to make the whole subjects
“to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults
“against diverse, to get their escheats, lands, benefices.” He wrought so far with the king, that a proclamation was published, “condemning the detaining his majesty's
“person at Ruthven as a *fact most treasonable*. Yet his
“majesty declared, that he was resolved to forget and
“forgive that offence, providing the actors and assistants do shew themselves penitent for the same, ask
“pardon in due time; and do not provoke him by their
“unlawful

talked of, and variously censured; which terminated in the ruin of his family.

Mary,

“ unlawful actions hereafter, to remember that at-
 “ tempt!” (b) Whereupon divers noblemen and others (b) *Craw-*
 withdrew from the court, for fear, to some place of *ford, p. 139.*
 security; for they well knew that their destruction was *Spottwood,*
 aimed at, Whereupon the principal of them were or- *p. 326.*
 dered to confinement, which they not obeying, were
 denounced rebels (c). This was shocking behaviour, (c) *Id. ib.*
 and enough to provoke the most patient men to take a
 severe revenge; for the king’s word was no security,
 his promise could not be relied on, and no man was safe
 who affronted his favourite, who made a mere dupe of
 his master, and sacrificed his honour on all occasions.
 A sure proof this of *James’s* weakness, and a sufficient
 indication of what the world was to expect from him
 hereafter; for the tempers and dispositions of men are
 pretty much the same through life. As they are in
 youth, so are they in reality in age, though they may
 know better how to gloss and disguise.—By this treat-
 ment of those concerned in the Ruthven affair, several
 of the nobility were induced to enter into an association,
 for reforming abuses, securing religion, and the preser-
 vation of the king’s person and estate, among whom
 was the earl of *Gowry*, who being taken, tried and
 condemned, was executed for treason. “ His majesty
 “ (says *Melvil*) had no intention of taking his life, but
 “ the earl of *Arran* was fully resolved to have his lands,
 “ and therefore to make a party to assist him in that de-
 “ sign, he engaged to divide them with several others,
 “ upon condition that they would assist him in the de-
 “ sign of ruining him; which afterwards he did, ha-
 “ ving by this means procured their consent and votes.”
 (d) What weakness and feebleness of government was (d) *Melvil,*
 this! *Arran* was in effect king, whilst *James* bore the *p. 156.*
 name, and under the royal authority committed the *Spottwood,*
 most unjust actions; for all agree that *Gowry* had hard *p. 332.*
 measure dealt him.—In time the *Gowry* family was *Crawford,*
 restored *p. 390.*

Mary, queen of Scots, having sentence of death pronounced on her, Oct. 11, 1586, at Fotheringhay, by the commissioners of queen

restored to honour and estate, but, as historians tell us, nothing could allay the revenge of the two eldest sons, for their father's blood, but the death of the king, which they attempted to have taken away at the earl's own house, August 5, 1600 (e)——But they both lost their lives in the attempt, and ruined thereby their family; for their houses were demolished, their estates confiscated, and the whole family, by act of parliament prohibited to carry the name of *Ruthven*. The 5th of August was likewise ordered to be kept yearly in remembrance of this deliverance.——Whether there was

(e) Crawford, p. 390. Spottwood, p. 458.

(f) Burnet's history of his own times, Vol. I. p. 22. dutch edit. 12mo.

(g) Crawford, p. 390.

(h) Crawford's epithet and expressions.

(i) Spottwood, p. 460. Calderwood, p. 444.

any such conspiracy of the *Gowries* against the king, or whether it was only a pretence, in order to palliate the murder of them, has been very much debated. *Spottwood* believed it: it was generally received as truth by the courtiers at the time it happened; and the assistants of the king received honours and rewards. (f) *Burnet* (no way prejudiced in favour of the king) gives credit to it; and Mr. *Crawford* tells us, that after what the earl of *Cromarty* hath lain together in his *historical account of the conspiracies by the earls of Gowry* against king *James*, he hopes few or none will suspect, far less doubt its truth and reality. (g) I hope I shall not be thought to be maliciously set against the royal family, or the (h) great king who was more immediately concerned in this affair, if I give the reasons that may be assigned for the doubting concerning the truth of the king's narration. I could not act the part of a faithful historian without it, and therefore must beg the reader's pardon for detaining him a little longer on this subject.

1. We are to observe, that the next day after this happened, the ministers were called together at Edinburgh, and desired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for the king's deliverance: but they by no persuasion could be moved to do it. (i)

2. Though

queen *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding her refusing to answer and be tried; and the sentence being confirmed by the English parliament, and their desire moreover added, that it might be put in execution; *James* ordered it to be represented to queen *Elizabeth* how unjust he held that proceeding against his mother,

2. Though most of the ministers being hereupon commanded to leave the city in 24 hours, and forbid to preach in his majesty's dominions, on pain of death, complied, owning themselves convinced of the truth of the conspiracy; Yet we find Mr. Robert *Bruce* saying he would reverence his majesty's reports of that accident, but could not say he was perswaded of the truth of it. (k)

(k) Spotswood, p. 461.

3. *Osborn* tells us, no Scotchman you could meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the peripatetick politicians said, the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit. But I will not (adds he) wade farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all mens relations foul and bloody, having nothing to palliate it but jealousy on the one side, and fear of the other. (l) And indeed the relation of this affair in *Spotswood* is confused and marvellous. The drawing the king to *Perth*, the getting him from dinner to examine a stranger; the discourse of *Gowry's* brother with him; and his stout and gallant behaviour (which in no other part of his life appeared); and his causing the two brothers to be killed, when he might with the same ease have secured them; the denials of *Gowry's* servants of their knowledge of the affair; and the tale of the earl's girdle, are circumstances which are not easily to be swallowed by the inquisitive or sceptical.

(l) Works of Francis Osborn, Esq; p. 535. 8vo. Lond. 1673. See also Calderwood, p. 451.

4. *Burnet* himself allows, that this conspiracy was charged at that time by the puritans in Scotland on the king, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that earl, who

mother, and that it did neither agree with the will of God, who prohibited to touch his anointed ones; nor with the law of nations, that an absolute prince should be sentenced and judged by subjects; that if she would be the first to give that pernicious example of profaning her own and other princes diadems, she should remember that both in nature and honour it concerned him to be

(m) Burnet. p. 22. See a very honourable character of Gowry, from Sir Henry Neville, to secretary Cecyll, in Winwood's state papers, Vol. I. p. 156.

who was then held in great esteem. (m) And afterwards he says, it was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of this conspiracy: for eight years before that time, king *James* on a secret jealousy of the earl of *Murray*, then esteemed the handsomest man in Scotland, set on the marquis of *Huntley*, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand, he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire, and the earl flying away, was followed and murdered, and *Huntley* sent *Gordon* of *Buckey* with the news to the king. Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the king open to much censure: and this made the matter of *Gowry* to be less believed.

(n) Winwood's memorials of affairs of state in the reigns of Elizabeth and king James I. Vol. I. p. 274. Fol. Lond. 1725.

5. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Nov. 15, 1600, from London, writes, "Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement between the king of Scots and his wife, and many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the earl *Gowry*'s brother, (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motive of all that tragedy." (n)

And Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter to secretary *Cecyll*, from Paris, dated 17 May, 1601, O. S. says, "The ambassador of Scotland hath been advertized of a dangerous practice against the Scots king; that lately one called *Glarnet*, hath been sent out of Scotland,

be revenged of so great an indignity ; which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and abroad (a).—But these threats were not regarded by *Elizabeth*, nor were they of any service to his mother ; for she was executed in pursuance to a warrant

(a) Spotf-wood, p. 351.

“ land, with letters to *Bothwel*, to hasten home with
 “ diligence, where he should find sufficient assistance.
 “ The principal party, who employed this party is the
 “ *Queen of Scetland*.—And letters have been inter-
 “ cepted out of England from master *Gray*, that the
 “ death of *Gowry* should shortly be revenged.” (o) (o) Id. p.
 These passages compared, may possibly give the reader some light in this affair. A gallant, or a supposed one slain, was cause sufficient to induce a lady to give her husband trouble, and nothing so likely as this to excite her to revenge.—These are the reasons which may induce some persons to doubt about the truth of *Gowry's* conspiracy ; whether they are sufficient the considerate reader will determine. However, one reflection naturally arises from this subject, viz. that the people entertained but a very poor opinion of *James's* veracity and honesty. The ministers, we see could not be induced to give thanks for his deliverance, out of a distrust of his account, till fear of their own safety brought them to a compliance ; and the general belief of the people of that nation both at home and abroad, was, that 'twas mere contrivance in order to screen himself from the guilt and infamy he must otherwise have lain under. Unhappy situation this ! truly worthy of commiseration. For a prince believed false, treacherous, and bloody, must be despised, hated and contemned, and can expect nothing but unwilling obedience from his subjects. And it must be confessed, *James* had given but too much reason to them, to view him in these lights.

rant directed to secretary *Davidson* (F), the seventh of February following: though *Elizabeth* pretended it was quite contrary to her

(F) She was executed in pursuance of a warrant, &c.] The sentence passed on her was approved by the English parliament, and earnestly pressed by it to be put in execution. Nor was any one more earnest in the matter than *Elizabeth* herself; for she deemed *Mary's* life incompatible with her own safety, and therefore determined to shorten it. But it was a matter of much delicacy, and what she would have been glad to have been excused from appearing in. She would fain therefore have had her put out of the way by Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, and had it hinted to them by the secretaries *Davidson* and *Walsingham*. But they were too wise to be caught, and too honest to execute so barbarous a deed, and therefore boldly refused, to the queen's no small mortification. Mr. *Tindal* seems to intimate something of a doubt about the genuineness of the letters here referred to (a), but I think without reason. For to me they have all the marks of genuineness, and are perfectly agreeable to that dexterity and management for which *Elizabeth* was so famous.—When these arts failed, the warrant in the hands of *Davidson*, signed by the queen, was made use of by the council, the queen being not openly acquainted with it, and *Mary*, by means of it, had her head severed from her body.—So that *James's* conduct could not save his mother, nor could *Henry III.* of *France*, by his ambassador, respite the execution of her sentence, but a violent death was her fate. But, if what historians tell us is true, 'tis no wonder *Elizabeth* payed so little regard to the solicitations in the behalf of the unfortunate *Mary*. For 'tis affirmed, that *Bellevue*, the French ambassador, whatever in public he pretended, had private orders to solicit the death of the queen (b). And *Gray*, the Scotch envoy, on this occasion, is said likewise in private, to advise the making her away, saying, a dead woman bites not (c).

(a) Rapin's history of England, translated by Tindal, Vol. II. p. 134. in the notes. Fol. Lond. 1733.

(b) Id. Vol. II. p. 122.
(c) Id. p. 131. Winwood's state paper, Vol. I. p. 11.

her intentions, seemed greatly grieved at it, and turned out, and fined the secretary by reason of it (G).

Indeed,

(G) Though *Elizabeth* pretended it was contrary to her intentions, and turned out and fined the secretary by reason of it.] The execution of *Mary* could not be concealed, nor was it thought proper by *Elizabeth* to justify it. She therefore threw the blame upon poor *Davidson*, and made him suffer for being an instrument in bringing about what she most of all desired. She denied not, but she commanded him to draw a warrant under the great seal for the queen of Scots execution; but after it was done, she seemed angry: however she left it in his hands, without telling him what he should do with it. Whereupon the council being consulted by *Davidson*, it was unanimously resolved to execute the warrant, and accordingly it was carried to Fotheringay, and produced the desired effect. *Elizabeth*, in the mean time, pretended she had changed her mind; but none of her counsellors talked to her upon the subject, or attempted to hinder the execution, as they certainly would have done, had they not been satisfied in her intentions. But when the wished for event took place, then *Elizabeth* pretended great sorrow, and professed her disinclination towards it; and to convince the world thereof, she wrote to the Scotch king, by a cousin of hers, and had *Davidson* cited into the Star-chamber, where he was fined 10000 *l.* and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. Though "she herself" could not deny, but that which she laid to his charge "was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any" "respect of his own, but merely for her safety both" "of state and person." (a) This sentence on *Davidson* was very severe, and carried the dissimulation to a great pitch, for the man lost his post, and lay'd long in prison. So hard and difficult is the service of princes! So dangerous complying with their inclinations, for

(a) Cabala,
p. 232. Fol.
Lond. 1663.

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Indeed, *Elizabeth* and her ministers managed *James* as they pleased; they fully understanding his temper, councils, and designs:

there is no laying obligations upon them; and after you have done all to please and oblige them, to serve a turn, or even gratify a present humour, they will discard or ruin you: for they think their subjects made for them; that 'tis a favour to employ them; and that they are of no worth, any farther than they promote their designs. If people therefore knew when they were well, they would be thankful for a peaceable retreat, and strive not to mix in counsels with those whose aim it is to outwit and mischief each other; nor would they be desirous of climbing up so high, as that a fall is fatal. But the ambitious in vain are cautioned to check their career. Nothing but some sad miscarriage, disappointment or disgrace, will teach them the needful lessons of humility and moderation, or cause them to enjoy contentedly the blessings of private life. Before I take my leave of this affair, I will observe that from the proceedings against *Mary*, it appears, that the queen and her parliament had no notion of such a sacredness in the persons of princes, as to render them unaccountable to any earthly tribunal. For here is a sovereign princess, tried, condemned, and executed, with the approbation, yea in pursuance of the request of the parliament; and though *Elizabeth*, to save appearances, feigned sorrow and indignation at the execution, yet no one has been so hardy as to put into her mouth a sentence tending to condemn the lawfulness of it. For she was too wise and understanding to have done it; nor could any who knew her character suppose her capable of it. This doctrine was left to her successor, who had weakness enough to declare expressly, "that kings were accountable to God only." (b) A doctrine big with mischief, and fit for nothing but to make tyrants. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

(b) King
James's
works, p.
529.

signs (H): so that they acted as they thought fit, without any regard to him, any farther than

(H) *Elizabeth* and her ministers managed *James* as they pleased, and understood his temper, councils and designs.] It appears from *Melvil*, that the English were thoroughly acquainted with the temper and behaviour of the king, and had those about him who took every opportunity to insinuate those notions into him, which were most acceptable to *Elizabeth*. "Wooten the ambassador became one of his most familiar minions, waiting upon him at all fixed pastimes." (a) And Sir (a) *Melvil*, *Richard Wigmore* "was particularly instructed by *Wal-* P. 161.
" *singham*, in all the proper methods to gain upon the king's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw in him; which he did very faithfully." (b) And though *James* little thought it, his most secret actions were known to the English ministry, and all his transactions abroad, how privately soever they were carried. For *Elizabeth's* ambassadors had a very watchful eye over the Scotch; and what by address, what by considerations of religion, but chiefly by money, they became acquainted with every thing *James* was negotiating every where. Thus for instance, Sir *Henry Neville*, though at *Paris*, had a watchful eye over the transactions of the Scotch king at *Rome*, and made himself master of them, though they were managed with the greatest caution: (c) and he was apprized also of the negotiation of baron *Ogilby* in *Spain*, who offered in the name of "James to be reconciled to the apostolic see, and to enter into a confederacy with that crown, in order to rescue himself from the dangers he was exposed to from *Elizabeth*, on whom he offered, (upon condition of being assisted with twelve thousand men armed and paid all the time the war should last, and five hundred thousand ducats to begin it) to make war immediately, and declare himself her enemy (d). So that from hence it appears that *Elizabeth* had him fast, and could have exposed him

(b) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 5. and Wood's memoirs, p. 9. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

(c) Winwood's state paper, p. 145, 146. the letters are well worth reading at large.

(d) Winwood, Vol. I. p. 5, 6, 7.

than mere compliments. For the fear of losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from *Elizabeth*, made

(e) Burnet,
Vol. I. p. 6.

him to the resentments of the English and Scottish nations whenever she pleased. For as *Walsingham*, *Burnet* says, "thought the king was either inclined to turn " papist, or to be of no religion;" (e) so these negotiations, had they been published, would have brought over multitudes of others to the same opinion; the consequence of which to him might have been fatal. No wonder then *James's* threatnings were little heeded: he was well known by the English court, and to know him was to stand in no awe of him; for big as he would talk on occasion, fighting was his known aversion. Indeed, after he came into England, he was weak enough to pretend that he had the direction of the English affairs during his predecessor's reign: had this been so, they would have been managed like his own in *Scotland*, and as matters afterwards were by him in *England*. Whereas every body knows, never councils were better conducted, never more glory by any administration acquired, than by *Elizabeth's*, and therefore he could have had no hand in the direction. That in the latter part of that queen's reign, he cultivated a correspondence with some of her courtiers, and endeavoured by means of them to secure the succession is true; and he was successful in his applications. But still he guided not, but was guided, and as carefully watched as could be; and, perhaps, a knowledge of his weakness, love of ease, and aversion to business, did not a little contribute to engage some of the great ones in his favour; who hoped that under him they might acquire honors, power, and wealth, in which they were not much mistaken. For a prince of great abilities, how valuable soever to a nation, is not the delight of self-interested statesmen. He will see with his own eyes, will judge of men as they deserve, and reward only the wise and good; and therefore under such an one little is to be hoped for by them.

made him in all things obedient to her will (I).

He

(I) The fear of losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from *Elizabeth*, made him in all things obedient to her will.] *James* loved not *Elizabeth*, for she kept him under restraint; protected his nobility against him; fomented divisions in his kingdom; and had caused his mother to be put to death. In short, he looked on her as the cause of all his troubles. These things he strongly complains of in his reasons for his reconciliation with Rome, and confederacy with Spain (a). But yet notwithstanding the grudge he bore her, he refused her nothing, nor dared to contradict her. For he had a yearly pension from the queen, I think, ten thousand pounds, the loss of which he could not well bear; which was increased in the year 1601, two thousand more upon his request. "Her majesty (says *Cecyll*) promising to continue it, as long as he shall make it appear to the world, that he is willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness towards him." (b) This was a good round sum at that time of day in *Scotland*, and therefore it behoved *James* to make it appear that he deserved it, by complying with her, whose bounty he so largely shared in. But that which kept *James* most in awe was the fear of losing the succession to the English crown. His being next in blood (though afterwards much talked of by him) was no security; had he behaved displeasingly to *Elizabeth*, and once made her heartily angry, 'tis more than probable he would have died in his own country. For by a statute of the 13th year of her reign, it was made high treason for any person to affirm, "that the reigning prince with the authority of the parliament, is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the descent and inheritance thereof." This was the rod which was held over *James*, and made him fear and tremble. For he could never get himself declared by *Elizabeth* her successor, and he knew full well what she

(a) Win-wood, Vol. 1. p. 2.

(b) Id. p. 325.

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He was not much regarded in Scotland by his nobility, which was owing, perhaps, as much to their restless temper, as his weakness (K);

nor

was capable of doing when provoked. He therefore stifled his anger, dissembled his resentments, and did not publicly do any thing disobliging to *Elizabeth*. His private behaviour in his negotiations with *Rome* and *Spain*, could not but be unacceptable. But she probably despised them, and took care to frustrate them, and contented herself with letting the whole world see that she was mistress of the Scotch king, and stood in no fear of what he might do. So that the passion with which he received the news of his mother's death, and the threats he uttered were but mere words, and he was cool'd down presently by *Walsingham's* letter, "representing how much his pretending to revenge it, would prejudice him in the eyes of the antient nobility, by the greatest part of whom she was condemned, and of principal part of the gentlemen of the realm, who confirmed the same in parliament; who would never submit to his government, if he shewed so vindictive a mind."

(c) Spott-wood, p. 360.

(d) Melvil, p. 173.

(c) Those Scotch and English therefore were in the right, who assured the English council, it would soon be forgot; and "that the blood was already fallen from his majesty's heart." (d) For he was afraid of consequences, and therefore durst not attempt to fulfil his threats.

(K) He was not much regarded by his nobility, &c.] He makes it a reason for his joining with Spain, that "queen *Elizabeth* had always protected his enemies and rebels, and that by their means she had caused him "to be three or four times taken into custody." (a) Whether or no *Elizabeth* was at the bottom of all the attempts of the nobility against *James*, is not my business to determine. But 'tis very certain they paid him but little regard, and scrupled not to bring him to terms, even by rough methods. The affair of *Ruthven* has been

(a) Win-wood, Vol. I. p. 4.

nor had he power to govern his clergy, who behaved, as he thought, disobediently towards him (L).

For

been already mentioned: besides which we find the banished Lords surprized him at *Stirling*, and caused him once more to dismiss *Arran*, and deprive him of his honours; and *Bothwell* took the same course with him to obtain his pardon, and hinder his adversaries from returning to court (b).

(b) Spott-wood, p. 34.
394.

These were instances of disrespect and disregard, and could arise from nothing but an opinion of the weakness of the prince to whom they were offered. Though it must be confessed that the Scotch nobility in those days were of a bold, restless temper, and were seldom quiet any longer than things went just as they pleased; and therefore were unlikely to stand in much awe of one, whose irresolution and want of courage had been from his childhood so very remarkable.

(L) His clergy behaved disobediently, as he thought, towards him.] “ The king perceiving that the death
“ of his mother was determined, gave orders to the
“ ministers to remember her in their publick prayers;
“ which they denied to do. Upon their denial, charges
“ were directed to command all bishops, ministers, and
“ other office-bearers in the church, to make mention
“ of her distress in their publick prayers, and commend
“ her to God. But of all the number, Mr. *David*
“ *Lindesay* at *Leith*, and the king’s own ministers, gave
“ obedience. At *Edinburgh*, where the disobedience
“ was most public, the king purposing to have their
“ fault amended, did appoint the third of February
“ for solemn prayers to be made in her behalf, com-
“ manding the bishop of *St. Andrew’s* to prepare him-
“ self for that day; which when the ministers under-
“ stood, they stirred up Mr. *John Cowper*, a young
“ man not entered as yet in the function, to take the
“ pulpit before the time, and exclude the bishop. The
C 4 “ king

For this he hated them most heartily ;
but dissembled his resentment, till he could
show

“ king coming at the hour appointed, and seeing him
“ in the place, called to him from his seat, and said,
“ Mr. *John*, that place was destinate for another ; yet
“ since you are there, if you will obey the charge that
“ is given, and remember my mother in your prayers,
“ you shall go on. He replying, *he would do as the*
“ *spirit of God should direct him*, was commanded to
“ leave the place ; and making as though he would
“ stay, the captain of the guard went to pull him out ;
“ whereupon he burst forth in these speeches, *this day*
“ *shall be a witness against the king, in the great day of*
“ *the Lord* ; and then denouncing a woe to the inhabi-

(a) Spots-
wood, p. 354.

“ tants of Edinburgh, he went down.” (a) This be-
haviour seems to favour much of indecency and disobe-
dience, and I doubt not but the reader is inclined to
censure it accordingly. But let us not be too hasty, lest
we judge unrighteous judgment. The ministers, I
think, failed more in breeding than any thing else ;
for what was required of them, was to pray that *God*
would illuminate her (Mary) with the light of his truth,
and save her from the apparent danger in which she was
cast. Now this latter they could not in conscience do ;
for they looked upon her in the most detestable light,
and wished not for her preservation, believing it incon-
sistent with the good of the state and religion. And
therefore, says secretary *Walsingham*, “ it was wonder-
“ ed by all wise and religious men in England, that
“ the king should be so earnest in the cause of his mo-
“ ther, seeing all the papists in Europe that affected the
“ change of religion in both realms, did build their
“ hopes altogether upon her.” (b) If therefore the
Scots ministers thought as all the wise and religious men
in England did, about this matter, they could not con-
sistently, with sincerity, have prayed for her deliverance.
The king therefore should have forborne pressing them
to do what was contrary to their judgments, and they
should

(b) Id.

show it with safety; when he let all men know how much their conduct galled him, and what ill will he bare unto them (M).

Though

should have used civil and respectful terms of refusal; which, if they had done, I apprehend, they would have been free from blame. But this was not the only affair in which the clergy of Scotland, behaved disobediently and irreverently towards *James*.

For Mr. *Robert Bruce*, finding the king willing that *Huntley* should return into Scotland, boldly told him, "I see, Sir, that your resolution is to take *Huntley* in-
"to favour, which if you do, I will oppose, and you
"shall chuse whether you will lose *Huntley* or *me*; for
"both you cannot keep." (c) Mr. *Blake* was likewise (c) Spots-
charged by him with saying, "that he had detached wood, p. 417.
"the treachery of his heart; that all kings were the
"devil's barns; and that the devil was in the court,
"and in the guiders of it." (d) — And Mr. *John* (d) Id. p. 423.
Welch, in the high church of Edinburgh, said "the
"king was possessed with a devil, and one devil being
"put out, seven worse were entered in his place." (e) (e) Id. p. 430.
This was strange talking, and what could not but be
very displeasing to *James*, though he had not power e-
nough to curb and restrain those who were guilty of it.

(M) He dissembled with them, till with safety he could shew his resentment, &c.] Notwithstanding all the rudeness with which he had been treated by his clergy in the general assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, he stood
"up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to
"heaven, and said, he praised God, that he was born,
"in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a
"place, as to be king of such a church, the sincerest
"[purest] kirk in the world. The church of *Geneva*
"keep pasche and yule [Easter and Christmas] what
"have they for them? they have no institution. As
"for our neighbour kirk of England, their service
"is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing
"of

Though we are not to suppose, however it has been otherwise represented, either through

(a) Calder-
wood's
church his-
tory of Scot-
land, p. 256.
Fol. Edinb.
168c.
(b) Id. p. 418.
(c) Spotsf-
wood, p. 468.

" of the mass but the liftings. I charge you my good
" ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen and
" barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the
" people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I
" brook my life, shall maintain the same." (a) And
in his speech to the parliament 1598, he tells them, " he
" minded not to bring in papistical or anglicane bi-
" shops." (b) And in 1602, he assured the general
assembly, " that he would stand for the church and be
" an advocate for the ministry." (c) A man would
think by this, that James had a very great regard for
his clergy, and an high esteem of them; and doubtless
he himself intended they should think so too. But this
was mere artifice and dissimulation; for at bottom he
hated them heartily, and could not bear the thoughts
of them. This will appear to a demonstration from his
writings. " Some fiery spirited men in the ministry,
" he says, oftentimes calumniated him in their popular
" sermons, not for any evil or vice in him, but be-
" cause he was a king, which they thought the highest
" evil." This was the effect he thought of purity in
the church. Therefore he advises his son [prince Henry]
" to take heed to such puritans, very pests in the church
" and commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige,
" neither oaths or promises bind, breathing nothing
" but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure,
" railing without reason, and making their own ima-
" ginations (without any warrant of the word) the
" square of their conscience. I protest before the great
" God, and since I am here upon my testament, it is
" no place for me to lye in, that ye shall never find
" with any hie-land or border thieves, greater ingrati-
" tude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with
" these phanatick spirits, and suffer not the principal of
" them to brook your land, if ye list to set at rest;
" except

through ignorance or prejudice to the then
Scotish

“ except ye would keep them for trying your patience,
“ as *Socrates* did an evil wife.” (d)

And in his *premonition to all christian monarchs*, &c. he tells us, “ he was ever an enemy to the confused

“ anarchy or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth
“ in his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.” And therefore, adds

he, “ I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face
“ this answerer (*Bellarmino*) could say, that *I was a*

“ *puritan in Scotland, and an enemy to protestants*: I
“ that was persecuted by puritans there, not from my

“ birth only, but even since four months before my
“ birth? I that in the year of God 84, erected bishops,

“ and depressed all their popular parity. I then not be-
“ ing 18 years of age, [this was the year in which the

earl of *Gowry* was executed, and *Arran* committed the
vilest acts of injustice.] “ I that in my said book to my

“ son, do speak ten times more bitterly of them than
“ of the papists; having in my second edition thereof

“ affixed a long apologetick preface, only in *odium pu-*
“ *ritanorum*.” (e) This was written in England when

the king could speak his mind, and therefore, we may
be sure we have his real sentiments, especially as all his

actions were correspondent unto them. So that I had
reason to say, that *James* dissembled in his hatred and

resentment till a proper opportunity. But how worthy
this was of a king is not hard to judge. For nothing is

more unbecoming the rank and character of such an one,
than dissimulation, especially towards his own subjects.

It is setting an ill example unto them, which may be
of the most fatal consequences; and depriving princes

of that love, trust and confidence, in which their safety,
strength and reputation most of all consist. But to dissemble

in the affairs of religion, is vile hypocrisy; which yet 'tis
plain from the king's own speeches and writings he did.

But *James* was a weak prince, and lord *Bacon* has fine-
ly observed, “ that the weaker sort of politicks are the

“ great dissemblers.” — “ For, adds he, if a man
“ have

(d) King
James's
works, p.
160.

(e) Id. p. 305.

Scotish clergy, but that they had received
pro-

(f) Lord
Bacon's essay
on simulation
and dis-
simulation.

“ have that penetration of judgment, as he can discern
“ what things are to be laid open, and what to be se-
“ creted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to
“ whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and
“ arts of life, as *Tacitus* well calleth them) to him a
“ habit of dissimulation is an hindrance and a poorness.
“ But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then
“ it is left to him generally to be a dissembler.” (f) I
will conclude this note with a passage from honest
Montaigne, which I dare say every reader of like cha-
racter will applaud. “ As to this virtue of dissimula-
“ tion, I mortally hate it; and of all vices find none
“ that does evidence so much baseness and meanness of
“ spirit. ’Tis a cowardly and servile humour to hide
“ and disguise a man’s self under a vizor, and not to
“ dare to shew himself what he is. By that our fol-
“ lowers are trained up to treachery. Being brought
“ up to speak what is not true, they make no consci-
“ ence of a lye. A generous heart ought not to belye its
“ own thoughts, but will make itself seen within, all
“ there is good, or at least manly. *Aristotle* reputes it
“ the office of magnanimity, openly and professedly to
“ love and hate, to judge and speak with all freedom;
“ and not to value the approbation or dislike of others
“ in comparison of truth. *Apollonius* said, it was for
“ slaves to lye, and for free men to speak truth. ’Tis
“ the chief and fundamental part of virtue, we must
“ love it for itself.——A man must not always tell
“ all, for that were folly; but what a man says, should
“ be what he thinks, otherwise ’tis knavery. I do not
“ know what advantage men pretend to by eternally
“ counterfeiting and dissembling, if not, never to be
“ believed when they speak the truth. This may once
“ or twice pass upon men; but to profess concealing
“ their thoughts, and to brag, as some of our princes
“ have done, that *they would burn their shirts if they*
“ *knew their intentions, and that who knows not how to*
dissemble,

provocations by the king's actions, to behave towards him as they did (N).

How-

“ *dissemble, knows not how to rule*: is to give warning
“ to all who have any thing to do with them, that all
“ they say is nothing but lying and deceit.” (g)

(g) Montaigne's essays by Cotton, Vol. II. p. 507. 8vo. Lond. 1686.

(N) The clergy had received provocations to behave towards him as they did.] I have given an account of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards James from Spotswood: but bishop Burnet tells us, “ there is
“ a great defect runs through archbishop Spotswood's
“ history, where much of the rude opposition the king
“ met with, particularly from the assemblies of the
“ kirk, is set forth; but the true ground of all the
“ jealousies they were possessed with, is suppressed by
“ him.” (a)

(a) Burnet. Vol. I. p. 5.

These jealousies were of his being in his heart a papist, founded on facts delivered to them by the English ministry, and from his favouring and employing those of that religion. *Walsingham*, as I have already observed, “ thought *James* was either inclined
“ to turn papist, or to be of no religion. And when the
“ English court saw that they could not depend on
“ him, they raised all possible opposition to him in Scot-
“ land, infusing strong jealousies into those who were
“ enough inclined to receive them.” (b)

(b) Id. ib.

Dr. Birch says, “ the king of Scots was indeed, at this time [1599]
“ much suspected of inclining to popery; and a copy
“ of a letter, offering obedience to the pope, signed
“ by that king, was brought from Rome by the master
“ of Gray, and shewn to queen Elizabeth; who sent
“ Sir William Bowes ambassador to him, to advertise
“ him not to build on the friendship of Rome.” (c)

(c) Birch's historical view of the negotiations between the courts of England, France, and Brussels, p. 177. 8vo. Lond. 1749. Spotswood, p. 455. Burnet, p. 6. and note

—[This was the letter for which lord *Balmerino* was condemned, but pardoned, in the year 1609; it being said he surreptitiously got the king's hand thereto, which he himself confessed.] And we find, in 1596, the ministers complaining to the king of “ the favour grant-

“ ed to the popish Lords; the countenance given to
“ the [TT]

However, I am far enough from defending their whole behaviour (O). In 1589, *James* married a daughter of Denmark, (after

(a) Spots-
wood, p. 419.

“ the lady *Huntley*, and her invitation to the baptism
“ of the princess; the putting her in the hands of the
“ lady *Levingstone*, an avowed and obstinate papist; and
“ the alienation of his majesty’s heart from the mini-
“ sters, as appeared by all his speeches publick and pri-
“ vate.” (d)——In short, the ministers were jealous of
his majesty’s intentions; they suspected his behaviour,
and were afraid that he only wanted an opportunity to
crush them, and the religion they professed. ’Twas the
belief of this, that made them break out into such in-
decent expressions, and undutiful behaviour; and the
knowledge of their own power and influence over the
people, which inspired them with courage and boldness.
And, I think, all impartial persons must allow, that if
ever ’tis excusable to go beyond bounds in any thing, it
is in defence of religion and liberty, in opposition to
popery and tyranny. Most of these men remembered
the fires which popish zeal had lighted; they had seen
the blood spilt by it, and therefore it is not to be won-
dered at, that they were more than ordinarily moved at
every thing which had the least tendency to bring them
back into so deplorable a state.

(O) I am far enough from defending their whole be-
haviour.] The behaviour of the clergy was very rough,
and bordering upon rudeness. They treated majesty
with too much familiarity. They prostituted their pul-
pits to affairs of state, and rebuked after such a manner
as tended more to provoke, than to reclaim. In these
things they were blame-worthy. But I should not do
them justice, were I to omit their zeal for what they
thought truth; their labour and diligence in the business
of the ministry, and their speaking the truth with all
boldness. These were virtues for which *James’s* clergy
were eminent; and therefore they were held in high
esteem

ter having objected against the dignity of that royal house, merely through ignorance about it:) (P) and the lady being driven by a tempest

esteem by the major part of that kingdom, as will all of that profession every where be, who imitate them herein, for they are things praise-worthy, and of good report.

(P) He married a daughter of Denmark, after having objected against the dignity of that royal house, through mere ignorance about it.] *James*, notwithstanding all his boasted learning, was defective in history, the knowledge of which is most necessary for princes. He had so little skill in this, that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark; nor was he acquainted with the rank the kings of it bare in Christendom. "He was informed," he said, that the king of Denmark was descended "but of merchants, and that few made account of him or his country, but such as spoke the Dutch tongue (a)." 'Tis amazing that any one of *James's* elevated station should be so grossly ignorant. Had he never read of the power of the Danes, their ravages and conquests both in England and Scotland? was he never informed that marriage had been contracted between his own family and that of Denmark? nor that in the year 1468 *Christian I.* king of Norway and Denmark, renounced all right and title for himself and his successors to *James III.* king of Scotland, to the *isles of Orkney*, upon a marriage between him and his daughter (b)? 'Tis plain he knew none of these things, and therefore was miserably qualified to contract alliances, or enter into treaties.——However *Melvil* informed him of these matters, which made him so exceeding glad, "that he said he would not for his head but that he had shewn the verity unto him." "Some time after, as said is, he called his council together in his cabinet, and told them how he had been advising " about

(a) *Melvil*, p. 164.

(b) *Cambden's Britannia*, by *Gibson*, edit. 2. p. 1470. Lond. 1722.

into Norway, he, impatient of the detention of his bride, went thither and consummated the marriage. From whence, upon invitation,

(c) Melvil,
p. 177.

(d) Spots-
wood, p.
540. and
Wilson's life
of king
James. p.
129. Fol.
Lond. 1653.

(e) Memoirs
of the duke
of Sully, p.
211, 213.
Vol. I. 12mo.
Lond. 1751.

(f) Id. Vol.
II. p. 179.

“ about his marriage fifteen days, and asked counsel of
 “ God by devout prayer thereon, and that he was now
 “ resolved to marry in *Denmark*.” (c) The lady whom
 James took to wife was *Ann*, second daughter of *Fredè-
 rick* king of *Denmark*. Our historians give her the cha-
 racter of a courteous and humane princess, and one in
 whom there was much goodness (d). It will not perhaps be
 unacceptable to the reader if I give the character she bore
 among foreigners, who, oftentimes, speak more justly
 than subjects. “ She was naturally, says the duke of
 “ *Sully*, bold and enterprising: she loved pomp and
 “ grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was acquainted
 “ with all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, oc-
 “ casioned by the catholicks, whom she supported, and
 “ had even first encouraged; but also in England where
 “ the discontented, whose numbers were not inconfi-
 “ derable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess
 “ destined to become their queen.—In public she affect-
 “ ed absolutely to govern her son (prince *Henry*) whom
 “ it was said she thought to inspire with sentiments in
 “ favour of Spain: for none doubted but she was in-
 “ clined to declare herself absolutely on that side (e).
 “ Afterwards, he tells us, he received letters from
 “ *Beaumont*, (the French resident) informing him, that
 “ the queen was disposed to pleasures and amusements,
 “ and seemed wholly engaged in them, and nothing
 “ else. She so entirely neglected, or forgot the Spanish
 “ politics, as gave reason to believe she had in reality
 “ only pretended to be attached to them, through the
 “ necessity of eventual conjunctures.” (f) Whoever
 knows the rank of *Sully*, as favourite and prime mi-
 nister to *Henry* the great of France, and ambassador
 extraordinary to *James*, will pay great deference to
 his account; for it cannot but be supposed he had the
 best informations. And indeed from *Winwood's* state
 papers

tion, he proceeded into Denmark, where, being royally entertained, he spent the winter,

papers the character of queen *Ann* will be found nearly as *Sully* has given it, but different with regard to her inclinations to Spain; from what *Beaumont* informed him. I have before observed, that while in *Scotland* she employed a person to *Bothwell*, to hasten him home, assuring him of assistance, in order that *Gowry's* death might be revenged (f).

(f) See note

And Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter to the lord *Cranborne*, [E] Sept. 12, 1604, O. S. says, "the followers of the "constable (of *Castile*) in their relation of England, "gave forth, that the queen was wholly theirs." (g) (g) *Win-*
Mr. *Levinus Muncke* (secretary to the earl of *Salisbury*, wood, Vol. II. p. 31. in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, Oct. 29, 1605, tells him, "mons. *Caron* (the Dutch ambassador) with much ado "spake first with the queen, and afterward with the prince. "I was glad, adds he, I was made an instrument, under "my lord, of his accesles; for otherwise, without his "assistance, I fear me, he had never spoken with her; "for let me tell you in your ear without offence, she "is merely *Spanish*, and had promised *Arenberg* (am- "bassador from the arch-dukes) not to speak with *Ca-* "ron. But the best is, she carrieth no sway in state "matters, and præter rem uxoriam hath no great reach "in other affairs." (h) However, the Spaniards valued (h) Id. p. her friendship, and upon a letter from her to the 155. queen of Spain, "a large pension was granted to one "Carre, a Scott." (i) Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, ambas- (i) Id. p. sador in Spain, in a letter to the earl of *Salisbury*, A- 149. pril 13, 1609. writes, that "the [Spanish] ambassador "hath advertised that the queen should say unto him, "he might one day peradventure see the prince on a "pilgrimage at *St. Jago*. Whereupon, tho' doubtless "she spake in merriment, they here much infer, and "seem to hope that his majesty will be contented to "send him hither to receive the rest of his education "here, yf the inclination of alliance continues." (k) (k) Vol. III. p. 12.

ter, and returned not into Scotland till May 20, 1590.

During the remainder of his reign in Scotland, he was engaged in troubles with his

So that from these passages 'tis plain *Sully* did not misrepresent this queen, in saying, "no one doubted but she was inclined to declare herself absolutely on the Spanish side." As to pomp and grandeur, pleasures and

amusements, whoever will take the trouble of consulting the pages referred to in the margin, will see abundant proof of it (m). For from these it appears that her inclinations were much towards masques and revels, state and grandeur, which probably ran her in debt, and made her melancholy, 'till the king augmented her jointure, and paid her debts (n). Sir Edward *Peyton*

represents her indeed in a much worse light. According to him, besides *Gowry*, [it should be *Gowry's* brother] she had a great number of gallants, both in Scotland and England (o). But what he says on this head, is to me so very improbable, that I will not trouble the reader with it. — She died of a dropsy March 1, 1618-19, at Hampton Court, without much lamentation from the king, though she was not unbeloved by the people. *Osborn* observes, that he himself saw "James one evening parting from the queen, and taking his leave at her coach side, by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of the shoulders; for so low, says he, she went bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a skin far more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendered her very debonair." (p) But notwithstanding the debonairness of her disposition, she could not influence her husband, who weakly permitted his favourites to ill treat her (q). This probably might in time alter her disposition, and cause her to act with wisdom and prudence, and avoid feasting, revels and factions. For archbishop *Abbot*, (a worthy venerable prelate) many years after her death, speaks of her with great

(m) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 44.
Vol. III. p.
117. and
454.

(n) Id. p. 117.

(o) *Peyton's*
divine ca-
strophe of
the house of
Stuarts, p.
10, 11.
Lond. 1731.
8vo.

(p) *Osborn*,
p. 496.

(q) *Rush-
worth's* his-
torical col-
lect ons,
Vol. I. p.
456. Fol.
Lond. 1659.

his nobility; in quarrels with his clergy; and in writing his paraphrase on the revelations (Q). His dæmonologie, stiled

D 2

a rare

great respect, and as of one whose virtue he had not the least doubt of, which, I dare say, he would not have done, had her character, in his eye, been upon the whole faulty (r). I have been the longer upon the character of this princess, because it has been little known; our historians contenting themselves to speak one after the other, without examination, whereby, for the most part, it cometh to pass, that they tend little to improve or instruct; and, which is worse, fix such ideas of things and persons as are difficult to be eradicated, tho' ever so false.

(r) Id. ib.

(Q) In writing his paraphrase on the revelations.]

"This paraphrase (says Dr. Mountague) was written by

"his majesty before he was twenty years of age." (a)

And James, at the end of his epistle to the church militant, prefixed to this paraphrase, desires "that what

"was found amiss in it might be imputed to his lack

"of years and learning." (b) A strange work this for

a youth to undertake, and an argument of very great

weakness. For who knows not that this book has ex-

ercised the wits of the most learned and understanding

men, from the beginning of the christian church; and

who is there ignorant that the world has been little the

wiser for their lucubrations? Great learning, industry,

and piety have been discovered, it must be owned, in

several commentators on this book, but still it remains

in many parts obscure, as at the beginning (c). What

then must we think of a raw young man who shall

wade so far out of his depth, and set up for an expound-

er of the deepest mysteries? Ought we not to censure

his temerity, and condemn his boldness? And much

more reasonable will this appear when we consider that

James was a prince, and consequently a person whose

business it was to apply himself to affairs of government,

and

(a) Preface to king James's works.

(b) Works, P. 3.

(c) See Mede, More, Newton, Lowman, &c.

a rare piece for many precepts and experi-
ments

and consult the welfare of his people. This was his proper business; the other was out of his province, and answered no end, either to himself or others. Indeed, if *Montague* is right, these reflections are ill founded. "He tells us kings have a kind of interest in this book [the Revelations] beyond any other; for as the execution of the most part of the prophecies of that book is committed unto them, so it may be, that the interpretation of it may more happily be made by them; and since they are the principal instruments that God hath described in that book to destroy the kingdom of antichrist, to consume his state and city; I see not but it may stand with the wisdom of God to inspire their hearts to expound it." (d) This is admirable! and well worthy of a court chaplain who had still hopes of preferment. But, with this bishop's good leave, I will take on me to affirm, that *James's* work is far enough from being a proof that the Revelations may be more happily interpreted by kings than by others; or that God puts it into their royal hearts at any time to expound it. For to speak in the softest manner of this performance, it must be said to be poor, low, and mean, and incapable of bringing any honour to the composer. Subjoined to this paraphrase is a "*fruitful meditation*," containing a plain and easy exposition, or laying open of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth verses of the twentieth chapter of the revelation, in form and manner of a sermon." Here he plainly intimates his opinion that the church of Rome is Antichrist. When this was first printed at Edinburgh it had this title.—"Ane fruitful meditation containing ane plaine and facile exposition of the 7, 8, 9 and 10 verses of the XX. chap. of the revelation in forme of ane sermone. Set down by the maist christiane king and syncier professour and cheif defender of the faith, James the 6th king of Scottis. 2 Theff. i. 6, 7, 8. For it is ane righteous thing with God. Im-
premit

(d) Preface
to James's
works.

ments in divinity and natural philosophy;

“ premit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1588.” (e) (e) Lewis’s
 —James was fond of meditations on select portions history of
 of scripture. After the destruction of the Spanish ar- the English
 mado in 1588, he wrote a “ meditation upon the 25, of the bible,
 “ 26, 27, 28 and 29th verses of the xvth chapter of the P. 296.
 “ first book of Chronicles of the kings:” in which he
 compares the protestants to the “ Israelites, and the
 “ catholicks to the Philistines, adorers of legions of
 “ gods, and ruled by the foolish traditions of men.” (f) (f) James’s
 And long afterwards [1619] he wrote a “ meditation works, p.
 “ on the Lord’s prayer, of which I shall speak more 87.
 “ hereafter; and a meditation upon the 27, 28, 29th
 “ verses of the xxviith chapter of St. Matthew, or a
 “ pattern for a king’s inauguration.” This was de-
 dicated to prince *Charles*. Among several other things
 we have the following passage, “ telling *Buckingham*
 “ my intention, [of writing this meditation] and that
 “ I thought you the fittest person to whom I could de-
 “ dicate it, for divers reasons following, he humbly
 “ and earnestly desired me, that he might have the ho-
 “ nour to be my *amanuensis* in this work. First, be-
 “ cause it would free me from the pain of writing, by
 “ sparing the labour both of mine eyes and hands; and
 “ next, that he might do you some piece of service
 “ thereby; protesting that his natural obligation to you
 “ (next me) is redoubled by the many favours that you
 “ daily heap upon him. And indeed I must ingenu-
 “ ously confess to my comfort, that in making your
 “ affections to follow and second thus your fathers, you
 “ shew what reverent love you carry towards me in
 “ your heart. And indeed my granting this request to
 “ *Buckingham* hath much eased my labour, considering
 “ the slowness, illness, and uncorrectness of my hand.”
 (g) Many of my readers, I doubt not, will be pleased (g) Id. p.
 with such like passages as this; for they shew the man 602.
 more than any thing besides. However, I must ask
 pardon for running away from the Revelations, of which

(a) Preface
to James's
works.

phy (a) (R); his trew law of free mon-
narchy;

James was a paraphrast, to these meditations; but the connexion between that annexed to that book, and the rest, I hope will be deemed a sufficient excuse.

(R) His Dæmonologie.] This was printed at Edinburgh, cum privil. reg. 4to. 1597. It is in form of a dialogue, divided into three books. The occasion and end of this piece, to do *James* justice, I shall give in his own words. "The fearful abounding (says he) at this time, in this country, of these detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanterers, hath moved me, beloved reader, to dispatch in post this following treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serve for a shew of my learning and ingene, but only (moved of conscience) to press thereby so far as I can, to resolve the doubting hearts of many; both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instrument thereof, merits most severely to be punished, against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called *Scot*, an Englishman, is not ashamed in publick print to deny, that there can be such a thing as witchcraft; and so maintains the old errors of the Sadducees in denying of spirits; the other called *Wierus*, a German physician, sets out a publick apology for all these crafts-folks, whereby, procuring for their impunity, he plainly bewrays himself to have been one of that profession. And for to make this treatise the more pleasant and facile, I have put it in form of a dialogue, which I have divided into three books; the first speaking of magic in general, and necromancie in special: the second of sorcerie and witchcraft: and the third contains a discourse of all these kinds of spirits, and spectres that appear and trouble persons: together with a conclusion of the whole work." (a) From this account 'tis plain *James* believed that there were witches, &c. and that they deserved

(a) Works,
p. 21.

deserved a most severe punishment. And afterwards he tells us, “ that witches ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civil and imperial law, and the municipal law of all christian nations. Yea, he declares, that to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so severely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not only unlawful, but doubtless no less sin in the magistrate, nor it was in *Saul's* sparing *Agag*.” (b) Yea so zealous was he for punishing these poor wretches, that he declares it to be his opinion, “ that barnes or wives, or never so defamed persons, may serve for sufficient witnesses against them.” (c) But lest innocent persons should be accused, and suffer falsely, he tells us there are two good helps that may be used for their trial: the one is the finding of their mark, and the trying the insensibleness thereof: the other is their fleeting on the water: for, as in a secret murther, if the dead carcass be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to the heaven for revenge of the murtherer; God having appointed that secret supernatural sign, for trial of that secret unnatural crime: so that it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernatural sign of the monstrous Impiety of witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom, that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit thereof: no, not so much as their eyes are able to shed tears (threaten and torture them as you please) while first they repent (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime). Albeit the women-kind especially, be able otherwise to shed tears at every light occasion when they will, yea, although it were dissembling like the crocodiles.” (d) (b) Works, p. 134. (c) Id. p. 135. (d) Id. p. 136.

James, we see, was well qualified for a witch-finder; he knew their marks, and could discover them by swimming, and refraining tears. And accordingly, he permitted persons to be executed who were found guilty thereof. In 1597, “ there was a great business in the trial of witches; amongst others, one Margaret Atkins,

“ *kings*, being apprehended upon suspicion, and threat-
 “ ened with torture, did confess herself guilty. Being
 “ examined concerning her associates in that trade, she
 “ named a few, and finding she gained credit, made
 “ offer to detect all of that sort, and to purge the
 “ country of them, so she might have her life granted.
 “ For the reason of her knowledge, she said, that they
 “ had a secret mark, all of that sort, in their eyes,
 “ whereby she could surely tell, how soon she looked
 “ upon any, whether they were witches or not. In this
 “ she was so readily believed, that for the space of three
 “ or four months she was carried from town to town,
 “ to make discoveries in that kind. She accused many,
 “ and many innocent women were put to death. In
 “ the end she was found to be a mere deceiver.” (e)
 “ And most of the winter of the year 1591, was spent
 “ in the discovery and examination of witches and
 “ forcerers.” “ In this year the famous Agnes *Samson*
 “ (commonly called the wise wife of Keith) was exa-
 “ mined, who confessed she had a familiar spirit,
 “ who had no power over the king, but said, as she
 “ took the words to be, *il est homme de Dieu.*” (f)
 This speech, I doubt not, flattered James’s vanity, and
 made him the more steadfast in the belief of the doc-
 trine of witches. For believe it, I suppose, he did, or
 otherwise he would not have passed such a bloody sta-
 tute, formed out of compliment (as has been well con-
 jectured) (g) to him, by both houses of parliament, soon
 after his accession to the English throne. By this statute
 it was enacted, “ that if any person or persons shall use,
 “ practice, or exercise any invocation, or conjuration
 “ of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, co-
 “ venant with, entertain, imploy, feed or reward any
 “ evil and wicked spirit, to or for any intent and pur-
 “ pose; or take up any dead man, woman, or child,
 “ out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place
 “ where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or
 “ any part of any dead person, to be employed or used
 “ in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or in-
 “ chantment; or shall use, practise, or exercise any
 “ witchcraft, incantment, charm, or sorcery, where-
 by

(e) Spott-
wood, p. 448.

(f) Id. p.
383.

(g) Hutch-
inson’s his-
torical essay
concerning
witchcraft,
p. 180. Lond.
1718, 8vo.

“ by any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, con-
 “ sumed, pined or lamed in his or her body, or any
 “ part thereof; that then every such offender or of-
 “ fenders, their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, being
 “ of any the said offences duly and lawfully convicted
 “ and attainted, shall suffer pains of death as a felon or
 “ felons; and shall lose the privilege and benefit of
 “ clergy and sanctuary.” (b) Upon this statute great
 numbers have been condemned and executed, to the
 reproach of common sense and humanity. And even
 great and good men have been the instruments hereby
 of condemning miserable innocent creatures.

(b) Stat. an-
 no primo Ja-
 cobi regis, c.
 12. sect. 2.

A caution to law-makers this, not (in order to please
 a prince) to enact statutes, especially on the penalty of
 death, unless upon the most solid, weighty reasons.——

For though the general opinion then was, that there
 were witches, and that they did much hurt and da-
 mage, yet ought the parliament to have weighed well
 the foundation on which it was built, and the conse-
 quences of it. Whereas they took the opinion on trust,
 and enacted a most dreadful punishment for an imagi-
 nary crime.——James tells us, “ that witches ought

“ to be put to death, according to the municipal law
 “ of all christian nations.” He spoke as he knew;
 but had his learning been as universal as it was proclaim-
 ed, he could not with truth have said so. For Dr.

Hutchinson assures us, that ’tis so far from being true,
 that all nations have always had such laws as ours, that
 he had some reason to doubt, whether any nation in the
 world hath, unless it be *Scotland* (i). And with great
 pleasure I find that there “ was a law in *Ethiopia*,
 “ which prohibited the people to believe, that there is
 “ any such thing as witches; the belief whereof, they
 “ say, is founded upon the error of the Manichees,
 “ that there are two independent gods, a good one,
 “ and a bad one.” (k) But I will leave this subject,

(i) Historical
 discourse of
 witchcraft,
 p. 158.

after having observed that we have reason to be thank-
 ful to almighty God, and to acknowledge the wisdom
 and goodness of our government, for repealing the sta-
 tute aforesaid, and “ enacting, that no prosecution,
 “ suit, or proceeding shall be commenced, or carried

(k) Geddes
 church his-
 tory of Ethi-
 opia, p. 361.
 8vo. Lond.
 1696.

“ on

narchy (s) ; but especially his piece so highly extolled, entituled ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ (T),
for

“ on against any person or persons for witchcraft, sorcery, enchantment, or conjuration, in any court whatsoever in Great Britain.” (l) This is a statute as much in honour to our legislators as any ever enacted, and will transmit their fame down to posterity ; it being founded on reason and justice, and productive of the safety of the people, whose welfare is the end of all government. I have said above, that I supposed *James* did believe the doctrine of witches. But, in justice to his character, I must here add, that after his being in England, having met with a number of forgeries and cheats, they wrought such an alteration upon his judgment, that at first he grew diffident of, and then flatly denied the workings of witches and devils (m).

(m) Fuller's church hist. cent. 17.

book 10. p. 74. and Osborn's works, p. 551.

(a) Calderwood's church hist. p. 426.

(b) James's works, p. 199.

(c) Id. p. 203.

(s) His trew law of free monarchy.] This was printed in September 1598, without his name. “ The bent of it, says Calderwood, was directed against the course of God's work, in the reformation of our kirk, and elsewhere, as rebellious to kings.” (a) And it must be confessed, if the doctrine contained in this treatise is true, the Scotch and many other of the reformers, will with difficulty be cleared from rebellion. For he asserts the regal power strongly ; allows resistance or disobedience to it upon no account whatsoever ; and reflects on the “ seditious preachers of whatsoever religion, either in Scotland or in France, that had busied themselves most to stir up rebellion under cloke of religion.” (b) In short, he plainly says, “ the king is above the law, and that he is not bound thereto, but of his good will, and for good example-giving to his subjects.” (c) This is the doctrine contained in the law of free monarchy, than which nothing can be more vile and abominable.

(T) ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.] This book is dedicated to his dearest son and natural successor, prince *Henry*.
’Tis

for the use of his son prince Henry; which being published (though censured by the synod of St. Andrews) was well accepted in England,

'Tis divided into three parts. "The first teacheth your duty towards God as a christian; the next your duty in your office as a king; and the third informeth you how to behave yourself in indifferent things, says he to the prince (a). It was wrote for an exercise of his own ingenie and instruction of him, who, he hoped, was appointed of God to sit on his throne after him." (a) Works, p. 139.

—"Seven copies only were permitted to be printed, the printer being first sworn to secrecie; but, contrary to his intention and expectation, the book was vented, and set forth to publick view." (b) This (b) Id. p. 142.

was in the year 1599. This book contains some tolerable things, but intermixed with strange passages: those relating to the clergy, whom he opprobriously terms puritans, I have had occasion before to mention (c): what follows, I think, is not less remarkable. (c) See note (M)

"Suffer not your princes and your parents to be dishonoured by any: the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readiest way to bring the son into contempt.——I never yet found a constant bidding by me in all my streights, by any that were of perfit age in my parents days, but only by such as constantly bode by them; I mean, specially by them that served the queen my mother." (d) So that princes, (d) Works, p. 158.

even after their death, are not to have much truth spoken concerning them, if they have children to reign after them; and all their tyrannies, oppressions, and vices are to be buried in oblivion, or concealed at least from the eyes of the vulgar. What monstrous doctrine is this! how does it take off all awe and restraint from princes, and give them hope of reputation after death, how ill soever they may behave! How much more sensible and judicious were the sentiments of the virtuous and amiable "Queen Mary, who when reflections were once made before her, of the sharpness

England, and raised an admiration in all men's hearts, says Spotswood, of his piety and wisdom. Certain 'tis, adds the same writer, that all the discourses that came forth at that time for maintaining his right to the crown

“ nefs of some historians, who had left heavy imputa-
 “ tions on the memory of some princes; answered, that
 “ if those princes were truly such, as the historians re-
 “ presented them, they had well deserved that treat-
 “ ment; and others who tread their steps might look
 “ for the same; for truth would be told at last, and
 “ that with the more acrimony of stile, for being so
 “ long restrained it was a gentle suffering (added she)
 “ to be exposed to the world in their true colours,
 “ much below what others had suffered at their hands.
 “ She thought also that all sovereigns ought to read such
 “ histories as *Procopius*; for how much soever he may
 “ have aggravated matters, and how unbecomingly
 “ soever he may have writ, yet by such books they
 “ might see what would be probably said of themselves,
 “ when all terrors and restraints should fall off with
 “ their lives.” (e) These reflections are solid and just,
 and could proceed only from a mind conscious of its
 own innocence and integrity; whereas the advice of
James has the appearance of a sense of guilt, and dread
 of shame. But the praise of his mother's servants, and
 the acknowledgment of their singular fidelity to him
 is most amazing: for who were they but most bigotted
 papists, and enemies to the reformation? who but they
 who justified her and defended her, even in the most in-
 iquitous and shameful actions? who were they but
 men enemies to the constitution of Scotland, and foes
 to law and liberty? 'Tis no wonder therefore, that the
 synod of St. *Andrews* took fire at a book containing
 these and like passages, and asked “ what censure should
 “ be inflicted upon him that had given such instructi-
 “ ons to the prince, and if he could be thought well
 “ affected

(e) Burnet's
 essay on the
 memory of
 queen Mary,
 p. 113.
 12mo. Lond.
 1696.

crown of England, prevailed nothing so much as did this treatise.

However, *James* was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest

“ affected to religion, that delivered such precepts
 “ of government?” (f) ——— These things be- (f) Spot-
 ing considered, I fancy the judicious reader will not wood, p. 456.
 think the judgment of the learned *Gataker* of this book
 much amiss; which being contained in a piece very
 difficult to be got, I will transcribe at large, and with
 it conclude the note. “ King *James*, a prince of more
 “ policy than puissance, while he was yet king of Scot-
 “ land, penned, or owned (g) at least, a book entituled (g) Dr. Bal-
 “ Δωρον Βασιλικον, which whoso shall advisedly read, canqual (who
 “ though of no very sharp eye-sight or deep reach, yet was at the
 “ may easily descry a design carried all along in it to synod of
 “ ingratiate himself with the *popish side*, by commend- Dort, and
 “ the fidelity of his mother’s servants, as to her, so to afterwards
 “ himself, with the *prelatical* party, by giving them Dean of Ro-
 “ hope of continuing that government that he should chester) is
 “ find here established; with the *common people*, by al- said to have
 “ lowing them their may-games, and the like sports; James to
 “ only he had bitterly expressed himself in high terms write his
 “ against the poor *puritans*, whom he least feared, and Basilicon
 “ deemed generally disaffected by those other three Doron.
 “ ties. Howbeit, when the time drew near of queen Jonrneythro’
 “ *Elizabeth*’s departure, that his quiet coming in might Scotland, p.
 “ not meet with any disturbance from that party, he 70.
 “ prefixed a preface to his book then reprinted, where-
 “ in on his honour he protesteth, that by the name of
 “ puritans he meant not all preachers in general, or o-
 “ thers, that misliked the ceremonies as badges of po-
 “ pery, and the episcopacie as smelling of a papal su-
 “ premacie, but did equally love the learned and grave
 “ on either side; intended only such brain-sick and
 “ heady preachers, that leaned too much to their own
 “ dreams, contemned all authority, counted all pro-
 “ fane

interest with the great men at the English court (v), to secure to him the right of succeed-

(b) Thomas Gataker, B. D. his vindication of his annotations, against the scurrilous aspersions of that grand impostor Mr. William Lillie, p. 75. 4to. Lond. 1653.

"fane that would not swear to all their fantasies." (b) The reader will be pleased to compare this with what James says, note (M) of his having written a long apologetick preface to the second edition of this book, only in *odium puritanorum*, and then judge what stress is to be laid on his word.

(v) James was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest with the great men at the English court.] "He was careful, says Burnet, to secure to himself the body of the English nation. Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury, secretary to queen Elizabeth, entered into a particular confidence with him; and this was managed by his ambassador Bruce, who carried the matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great men of England, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the queen's suspecting any thing concerning it, signed in writing an engagement to assert and stand by the king of Scots right of succession." (a) A pleasant story or two from Sir Henry Wotton, whose testimony in this affair is indisputable, will convince us of the probability of what Burnet has here asserted, and confirm the truth of the text.

(a) Burnet, p. 6.

"There were in court [queen Elizabeth's] two names of power, and almost of faction, the Essexian and the Cecilian, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correspondence with some of the principal in Scotland, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the king. But lest they might detect one another, this was mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the Essexian side, in truth with infinite hazard; for Sir Robert Cecil, who (as secretary of state) did dispose

" the

succeeding *Elizabeth*, in which he was successful, as the event shewed; though how wife,

“ the public addressees, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either party, as the story following shall declare. The earl of *Effex* had accommodated master *Anthony Bacon* in a partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother the lord viscount *St. Albans*) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could much amend his fortunes under the *Cecilians*, (to whom he was near of alliance, and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away; which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signs of apparent discontent to my lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards earl of *Northampton*, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much umbrage with the queen) that he flies presently to my lord of *Effex* (with whom he was commonly primæ admissionis, by his bed-side in the morning) and tells him, that unless that gentleman were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented. This took the earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him *Effex* house, which the good old lady *Walsingham* did afterwards disengage out of her own store with 2500 pounds: and before he had distilled 1500 pounds at another time by the same skill. So as we may rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the least a 1000 pounds of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden gentleman: what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business? There was another accident

“ of

wife, or rather honest, those were who admitted him without any limitations, or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess (w).

Elizabeth

“ of the same nature on the *Cecilian* side, much more
 “ pleasant but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but
 “ wit. The queen having for a good while not heard
 “ any thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of news,
 “ it fell out that her majesty going to take the air to-
 “ wards the heath, (the court being then at Greenwich)
 “ and master secretary *Cecil* then attending her, a post
 “ came crossing by, and blew his horn; the queen out
 “ of curiosity asked him from whence the dispatch
 “ came; and being answered from *Scotland*, she stops
 “ the coach, and calleth for the packet. The secreta-
 “ ry, though he knew there were in it some letters
 “ from his correspondents, which to discover were as
 “ so many serpents; yet made more shew of diligence,
 “ than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by
 “ (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the
 “ packet (for otherwise perhaps he might have awaked
 “ a little apprehension) but in the mean time approach-
 “ ing with the packet in his hand, at a pretty distance
 “ from the queen, he telleth her, it looked and smel-
 “ led ill favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget,
 “ and that it should be fit first to open and air it, be-
 “ cause he knew she was averse from ill scents. And
 “ so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this sea-
 “ sonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen.”

(b) Reliquiæ (b)
 Wottonia-
 næ, p. 168.
 8vo. Lond.
 1672. See
 also Birch's
 introduction
 to his histo-
 rical view,
 p. 21.

(w) How wise, or rather how honest, those were who admitted him without any limitations or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess.] No time can be so proper for a people to claim their just rights and privileges, and curb the regal power within proper bounds, as the accession of a stranger king, who, it may naturally be supposed, at such a time will do any thing reasonable, rather than disgust those whom he is about to rule

Elizabeth, after having reigned with the highest glory more than forty four years, at length submitted to the stroke of death, March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year

rule over, or impede his own advancement; for the desire of rule is so very natural, that few will stand upon trifles in order to enjoy it; nor will any refuse to grant the just conditions of it. A people therefore when about to place a foreign prince on the throne, ought well to consider what grievances they have laboured under, what exorbitances have been committed, and what restrictions of the regal power, prone always to extend itself, are necessary in order to secure the happiness of the society. By these considerations proper laws might be formed, which will be as a rule to a prince how to behave, and restrain him within the bounds of equity. Nor will the most ambitious prince, who has a regard to his own safety, dare break through what he has consented to, as the terms of his admission. And therefore the lords and commons, February 13, 1688, with great wisdom presented to the then prince and princess of *Orange*, a declaration of the rights and liberties of the subject, previous to the setting the crown on their heads; the several articles of which they “claimed, demanded and insisted upon as their undoubted rights and privileges; and it was declared and enacted, that all and singular the rights and privileges asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, antient, and undubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that all and every the particulars therein contained, shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed; and all officers and ministers whatsoever, shall serve their majesties and their successors, according to the same in all times to come.” (c) And the event shewed how wisely this was enacted; for it produced a reign

(c) Vid. stat. seil. secund. anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ, cap. 2. per totum.

year of her age, and thereby made way for *James*, to the incredible joy of his Scottish subjects, and to the no less pleasure of his English ones, who in such crouds hastened to see him, that he issued out a proclamation against their thronging about him.

In

(d) July 30,
1700.

(e) Statutes
anno duode-
cimo & de-
cimo tertio
Gulielmi
III. regis,
c. 2. sect. 3.
(f) Burnet.
Vol. V. p.
523.

most happy to the subject, and laid a foundation for all the blessings we now enjoy. But when the death of the duke of Gloucester (d) rendered it necessary to provide for the succession to the crown, in order to prevent all imaginable inconveniencies, it was thought proper still farther to pass an act for the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject; and accordingly many excellent conditions were laid down on which the stranger prince was to succeed (e). I call them excellent conditions, though *Burnet* tells us, “King *William* was “not pleased with them, supposing they implied a reflection on him and his administration.” (f) ’Tis not improbable the knowledge of the persons who proposed these conditions, and the opposition he had many times undeservedly met with from them, might make that truly good prince have no favourable opinion of this act enacted by them. But, whatever were the motives of the framers of this act, I think all impartial persons must allow that it was a good one in itself, productive of much happiness to these kingdoms. Every particular I approve not, but, in general, highly applaud it.

These were instances of wisdom, prudence and discretion, and as such they will be admired and praised through all generations.——But *James* had no limitations or restrictions laid on him; he without any ceremony was proclaimed king, and by that title thought he had a right to do as he pleased. Whatever had been done by the prerogative royal in aforesaid times, whatever the most enterprising princes had attempted on the liberties of the subject, he had liberty to do likewise; and accordingly exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner,

In his coming to London he displayed something of his arbitrary disposition, by ordering (a) a *cutpurse* to be hanged without any legal process; as quickly afterwards he did his revenge on one (x) Valentine Thomas, who

(a) Coke's
detection,
Vol. I. p.
5. 8vo.
Lond. 1696.

manner, as I shall hereafter shew. Whereas had he been tied up, whatever had been his weakness, whatever his depravity of heart, he could have done but little mischief; and the miseries brought on the people by his successors, might have been prevented. This Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, &c. were sensible of, and therefore desired he might be obliged to articles; but Cecil, Northumberland, and others over-ruled them, and permitted him to enter uncon-

(g) Osborn,
p. 470.

trouled (g). To these men then, the nation in a good part owed the calamities it suffered from the *Stuart* race. They might easily have prevented them, but they would not attempt it; doubtless hoping hereby to make their court to James, and enjoy his favour, from whence what they wished for must flow. Wretched meanness of spirit this! inexcusable disregard for the public! 'Tis allowable for ministers to avail themselves of their own services, and their prince's favour; but the man who sacrifices the interest of his country, or neglects taking those steps which are necessary to establish its happiness, when he has it in his power, deserves to be treated with hatred and contempt, let his abilities be ever so great. The good of the people is the supreme law. By this the actions of all ministers are to be tried, and he, who, to please a prince or obtain wealth and honour for himself, shall act inconsistent therewith, merits the highest punishments; for he must be lost to liberty, virtue, and his country.

(x) Valentine Thomas, &c.] "In the year 1598,
"this man being in custody for theft, charged the Scots

E 2

"king

who had many years before accused him of having ill designs against *Elizabeth*; hereby making good the observation that cowards never forgive.

He

“ king with ill designs against the queen. But her majesty (says secretary *Cecil*, in a letter to Mr. *Edmondes*) deferred his arraignment, and suppresseth the matter, to avoid offence to the king of Scots, who hath very vehemently denied it with detestation. The king of Scots had wrote to the queen on the 30th of July 1598, upon this affair, in these terms: my suit only is, that, while ye hear further from me (which shall be with all diligence) ye would favour me so far as to delay the fellow's execution, if he be yet alive, to the effect, that by some honourable means, wherein I am to deal with you, my undeserved slander may be removed from the minds of men.” The queen, on the other hand, sent instructions to Sir *William Bowes*, her ambassador at *Edinburg*, to assure king *James*, that she had stayed *Thomas's* arraignment, and would do so as long as the king should give no cause to the contrary.— But that king kept a severe memory of the accusation cast upon him by *Valentine Thomas*; and upon his accession to the crown of England, and within a month after his arrival in London, in the beginning of June 1603, ordered him to be brought to his trial and executed.” (a) This every one will easily see was revenge, and a very mean revenge too. After five years to take away a fellow's life for an accusation against himself, (for that 'tis easily seen was the cause, though the former theft was the pretence) could proceed from nothing but so cowardly a principle. I say cowardly; for *James* himself tells us, “ rancor and revenge proceeds from baseness and want of courage in men, and even amongst beasts and creeping things, it proceeds of a defect and want of courage in

(a) Birch's negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, p. 177—179.

He was attended by great numbers of Scots in his coming into England, who were advanced to great honours (y), and shared largely

“ in them.——And it is a known and undeniable
“ truth, that cowards are much more cruel and vindic-
“ tive than men of courage are: for a coward can
“ never enough secure himself of his enemy; insomuch
“ as when he is lying dead at his feet, he is yet afraid.”

(b) Never was the truth of this doctrine better exem-
plified than in the execution of *Thomas*; and there-
fore I had reason to say, that *James* thereby made good
the observation, that cowards never forgive.——How
much more amiable is the character of those princes
who have forgot, on their accession to the throne, per-
sonal injuries? how deservedly famous is the saying of
Lewis XII. of France, in answer to those who would
have persuaded him to shew severity to *La Tremouille*:
“ God forbid that *Lewis XII.* should revenge the quarrels
“ of the duke of *Orleans* (c). This was truly great and
magnanimous. But *James*’s conduct was wholly mean,
and betrayed the poorness of his soul.

(b) King
James’s
works, p.
587.

(c) See Bo-
lingbroke’s
letter on the
spirit of pa-
triotism, p.
248. 8vo.
Lond. 1749.
(d) Juvenal,
Sat. 13. v.
189.

——Quippe minuti
Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Ultio (d).——

——Revenge, which still we find
The weakest frailty of a feeble mind. CREECH.

(y) He was attended by a large number of Scots,
who were advanced to great honours.] “ The persons
“ who attended him were the duke of *Lennox*, the earls
“ of *Marr*, *Murray*, and *Argile*, the lord *Hume*, Sir
“ *George Hume*, Mr. *James Elphinston*, Sir *David*
“ *Murray*, Sir *Robert Ker*, with the ordinary gentle-
“ men of the chamber, besides several of the clergy.”

(a) But besides these, there were a great multitude
who came in with him, and reaped the benefit of his

(a) Spotf-
wood, p. 476.

largely in his bounty, at the expence and much to the regret of the English nation to

favour. *Lennox*, *Marr*, *Hume*, and *Elphinston* were made privy counsellors of England, and many of the Scots became afterwards adorned with some of the highest English titles. Sir Robert *Ker* (b) was advanced to the earldom of *Somerset*, *Lennox* was made duke of *Richmond*, *Esme Stuart*, his younger brother was created earl of *March*, the marquis of *Hamilton* earl of *Cambridge*, Sir John *Ramsay* viscount *Haddington* of Scotland, earl of *Holderness*, and James *Hay* earl of *Carlisle* (c). Nor were they bare honours which the Scots got, for they had also large lucrative posts, and uncommon donations, as will appear bye and bye. So that there seems some reason for the following lines of a satyrical writer, tho' they are much too severe.

(b) Thus his name is always written by the Scottish writers, and not Carr, as by the English.

(c) Baker's chronicle, p. 448. Lond. 1684. Fol.

(d) King James.

" The (d) royal branch from Pictland did succeed,
 " With troops of Scots and scabs from north by Tweed.
 " The seven first years of his pacifick reign,
 " Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
 " Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
 " With packs and plods came whigging all away.
 " Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
 " With pride and hungry hopes compleatly arm'd :
 " With native truth, diseases, and no money,
 " Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey.
 " Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
 " And all their race are true-born Englishmen (e).

(e) State poems, Vol. II. p. 21. Lond. 1703. 8vo.

Had there been then an union of the two kingdoms, this had, doubtless, been good policy; but as there was not, these promotions could serve no other end, but to create jealousies among the English, and excite complaints. For why should men of another country have the power of legislation? why should they whose property lay elsewhere, and whose connexions were at a distance,

(z), to whom it is, with some good degree

distance, have a power of enacting laws which they themselves might easily get out of the reach of, and their families be wholly free from? But such was the will of *James*, who, though he seldom considered himself, cared not to be counselled, and therefore generally acted unwisely.

(z) Shared largely in his bounty at the expence, and much to the regret of the English.] Osborn observes, that the “exactions rose on the English were spent upon the Scots, by whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honest traffick did extract gold out of the faults of the English, whose pardons they begged, and sold at intolerable rates, murthier itself not being excepted (a).” (a) Osborn’s works, p. 495.

The same writer tells us, “that the earl of *Dunbar* swallowed at one gulp, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, all the standing wardrobe, wherein were more jewels, pearl, rich robes, and princely apparel, than ever any king of Scotland (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have since heard rated by the officers at an incredible sum, whose servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in London before this great dissolution.” (b) Lord (b) Id. p. 516.

Clarendon assures us, “that *James Hay*, earl of *Carlisle*, spent in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict calculation, he received from the crown.” (c) — Robert *Ker*, earl of *Somerset*, had such vast favours bestowed upon him, that even at the time of his fall, his estate was rated to the crown at three hundred thousand pounds (d). And Sir *John Ramsay*, when made a viscount, had a thousand pounds land given him to support the title (e). Again, says Osborn, “the Scots hung on James like horse-leeches, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own country,” (e) Win-wood’s memorial, Vol. II. p. 217.

“ling then off by retiring into their own country,” (e) Win-wood’s memorial, Vol. II. p. 217.

of probability, said, that they behaved with much rudeness and insolency (AA).

However

(f) Osborn,
p. 532.

(g) Annals
of King
James, p.
10. Lond.
1681. Fol.

(b) King
James's
works, p.
515. See
also p. 541.

"or living at ease, leaving all chargeable attendance on
"the English." (f) This is likewise confirmed by
Frankland. The king's gifts in lands to the Scots, un-
thankfully and unfittingly, they sold (says he) convey-
ing that treasure into Scotland (g). These passages suf-
ficiently shew how much of the wealth of England was
bestowed on the Scots, and how much cause the English
had to be displeased at it; for there was not one of
these men that was any way useful to the English na-
tion, though *Dunbar* and *Carlisle* were men of great
abilities; and therefore there could be no cause for these
excessive donations.—The king himself was sensible
that his liberality to the Scots was very distastful, and
therefore apologizes for it in a speech to the parliament,
and promises for the future to be more sparing. Let
us hear his words. "Had I been over-sparing to them,
"they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his
"brethren, or that the king had been drunk with his
"new kingdom. If I did respect the English when I
"came first, —what might the Scottish have justly
"said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully
"with them that so long had served me, so far ad-
"ventured themselves with me, and been so faithful
"to me? —Such particular persons of the Scottish
"nation, as might claim any extraordinary merit at
"my hands, I have already reasonably rewarded; and
"I can assure you, that there is none left whom for I
"mean extraordinary to strain myself further." (b)
This was spoken Anno 1607, a little before his majesty
received *Ker* as a favourite, and heaped on him such
immense treasures and large possessions as I have just
mentioned. Well therefore might the English grumble,
despise the king, and hate his countrymen, by whom
they were thus fleeced.

(AA) To whom they behaved with much insolency
and

However the English were not neglected by and rudeness.] This is attested by the following homely lines, which were every where posted.

- “ They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
- “ They switch our nobles, and lie with their wives;
- “ They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers;
- “ They stab our serjeants, and pistol our fencers.

Mr. Osborn has explained these in a very entertaining manner, to whose works I refer the inquisitive reader

(a).——Not contented to drain the kingdom of its wealth, and snatch its honours, they moreover claimed precedence of the English nobility of the same rank.

(a) Osborn, p. 504. p. 452. of the edition in 1682.

——“ At a supper made by the lady Elizabeth Hatton, there grew a question between the earls of Argile and Pembroke, about place, which the Scot maintained to be his by seniority, as being now become all Britons: at which our nobility began to startle.” (b). And no wonder, for whatever might be the antiquity of many of the Scotch nobility, on which probably they valued themselves; yet that could entitle them to no place in England, any farther than what courtesy and civility might require. To set up a claim of right to superiority by reason of it, could be looked on as nothing but an insult, and as such, doubtless, was resented. Indeed the Scots seemed so unable to bear their good fortune, and the English were so provoked at their insolent behaviour, that it was almost a miracle it had not issued in torrents of blood (c).——A lesson this to princes not to be too bountiful to persons used to low circumstances; seeing it will only tend to inspire them with pride and haughtiness, and excite envy and contempt in standers-by; much more not to enrich aliens at the expence of the natives, and cause them to lift too high their heads. There may indeed be exceptions to this rule, as when distinguished merit and great abilities are possessed, and these exerted for the good of a country; but

(b) Win-wood's memorials, Vol. III. p. 117.

(c) See Osborn, p. 595.

by *James*, for on them also he heaped honours in abundance (BB); and 'tis certain, that a great many particular persons obtained great

but where these are not, and when in a most eminent degree it is weakness and imprudence to heap favours, which will not fail to bring on complaints, uneasinesses, and distresses on the conferrors.

(B.B) Honours in abundance were heaped on the English also.] *James* in his speech to the parliament, anno 1609, owns that they saw him at his entrance into England, "make knights by hundreths, and ba-

(a) King
James's
works, p.
542.

(b) Baker's
chronicle,
p. 402.

(c) Vid. Of-
born's cata-
logue of the
library of
Webb, &c.
p. 66. 1751.

"rons in great number." (a) This account is not beyond the truth. For Sir Richard *Baker*, who had the honour of knighthood from him at that time, tells us, that "before his first year went about, he made God "knows how many hundred knights." (b) And if a certain author is to be credited, in the two first years of *James's* reign, no less than one thousand twenty two knights were made by him (c) A prodigious number this! and such as almost exceeds belief. But the authorities already quoted in this remark, may possibly reconcile us unto it. For when knights were made by hundreds, a large sum total must run up in a comparatively short space of time.—But *James* contented not himself with dubbing knights; he made barons also, and enlarged the peerage to a great degree. In the first year of his reign he made four earls and nine barons, among whom were Henry *Howard*, created earl of *Northampton*, Thomas *Howard* earl of *Suffolk*, and the famous Sir Robert *Cecil*, lord *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Salisbury*. These were persons who had dexterity enough to insinuate themselves into *James's* favour, and obtain almost whatever they had a mind to, for themselves or dependants; these were the persons who transacted most of the business of state during their lives, and reaped very great rewards by reason of it, as will soon appear. So that though *James* was lavish of his honours on his

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great wealth, and large possessions from him

own countrymen, the English could not say they were slighted; for he created so great a number of them peers, that, with the Scots already mentioned, no less than 62 were added to that illustrious body by him (d).

This occasioned a "pasquil to be pasted up in St. Paul's, wherein was pretended an art to help weak memories to a competent knowledge of the names of the nobility." (e) Had these great dignities been conferred only on the deserving, there would have been little room for complaint. But "the honours James

"bestowed were in so lavish a manner, and with so little distinction, that they ceased in some sense to be honours." (f)——This was highly injurious to the

character of the conferror, and a contempt cast on those whose birth and great virtues intitled them to such distinctions. It shewed a want of judgment in James, and tended to take off that reverence which ought to be kept up in the minds of the people towards the English nobility. For what must men think of the understanding of that prince, who could place among the great council of the nation, John Villiers, Christopher Villiers, and Lyonel Cranfield? In how contemptible a

light must the peerage be viewed by those who knew that these men had no pretence to such an honour, but as related to George Villiers, the insolent prime minister?——'Twere to be wished that the greatest care at all times was taken not to debase so illustrious an order of men by undeserved creations, and that nothing but real merit was the occasion of them. Then would the prince be applauded, the dignity of the peers be preserved, and all due deference paid to their decisions. But when it is known publickly, that undeserving men are advanced to this elevated rank in order to serve a party or please a favourite, then do men murmur at the crown, and pay little respect to those thus distinguished by it. For the public will judge of persons as

they

(d) Tor-
buck's par-
liamentary
debates, Vol.
VII. p. 135.
8vo. Lond.
1741.
(e) Wilson,
p. 7.

(f) Remarks
on the his-
tory of Eng-
land, by
Humphrey
Oldcastle,
Esq; p. 235.
8vo. Lond.
1743.

him (cc), to the impoverishing of the crown, and the reducing himself in a few years to great want. He soon shewed his gratitude

to they are; titles and coronets cannot bias its judgment, or cause it to applaud the ignorant or unworthy.

(cc) Many persons obtained great wealth, and large possessions from him.] “ They that then lived at court, and
 “ were curious observers of every man’s actions, could
 “ have affirmed, that *Salisbury*, *Suffolk*, and *Northamp-*
 “ *ton*, and their friends, did get more than the whole
 “ nation of Scotland (*Dunbar* excepted).——All the
 “ Scots in general scarce got the tythe of those English
 “ getters, that can be said did stick by them, or
 “ their posterity. Besides *Salisbury* had one trick to
 “ get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet
 “ cast all the envy upon them; he would make them
 “ buy books of fee-farms, some one hundred pounds
 “ per annum, some one hundred marks, and he would
 “ compound with them for a thousand pounds, which
 “ they were willing to embrace, because they were sure
 “ to have them pass without any controul or charge,
 “ and one thousand pounds appeared to them that ne-
 “ ver saw ten pounds before, an inexhaustible treasure;
 “ then would *Salisbury* fill up this book with such prime
 “ land as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds,
 “ which was easy for him, being treasurer, so to do;
 “ and by this means *Salisbury* enriched himself infi-
 “ nitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose
 “ names these books appeared, and are still upon record
 “ to all posterity; though *Salisbury* had the honey,
 “ they, poor gentlemen, but part of the wax.” (a)—
Wilson tells us, “ that James being one day in his gal-
 “ lery at *Whitehall*, and none with him but Sir Henry
 “ *Rich* (afterwards earl of Holland) and James *Max-*
 “ *well*, some porters past by them, with three thousand
 “ pounds going to the privy purse: *Rich* whispering
 “ *Maxwell*, the king turned upon them, and asked *Max-*
 “ he

(a) Sir An-
 thony Wel-
 don’s court
 and charac-
 ter of king
 James, p.
 54, 55.
 12mo. Lond.
 1651. See
 also Ra-
 leigh’s
 works, Vol.
 I. p. 201.
 8vo. Lond.
 1751.

to *Elizabeth* for the crown she had left him, by permitting no one to appear in mourning for her (DD) before him, and even

“ well what says he? what says he? *Maxwell* told him,
 “ he wished he had so much money; *Marry shalt thou*
 “ *Harry* (saith the king) and presently commanded
 “ the porters to carry it to his lodging, with this ex-
 “ pression, you think now you have a great purchase,
 “ but I am more delighted to think how much I have
 “ pleased you in giving this money, than you can be
 “ in receiving it.” (b). And Sir Philip *Herbert* (after- (b) Wilson,
 wards earl of *Pembroke*) on his marriage with the lady p. 76.
Susan Vere, had a gift of the king of 500 l. land for the
 bride’s jointure (c).—In short, *James* himself assures (c) Win-
 us, “ that he had dealt twice as much amongst English- wood, Vol.
 “ men as he had done to Scotchmen.” (d) — The II. 4. 43.
 truth is, those of the English who had the king’s ear, (d) King
 and could fall readily into his humours, and contribute James’s
 to his pleasures and amusements, were sure of being works, p.
 enriched by him. The true courtier in this reign had 542.
 a good time of it, for *James* was thoughtless and incon-
 siderate, and never knew the value of money till he
 was in want of it. But merit, as such, was always
 neglected or overlooked by him; he knew it not, or
 regarded it not, but preferred his flatterers to all
 others.

(DD) He shewed his gratitude to *Elizabeth*, by per-
 mitting no one to appear in mourning for her before
 him.] For this curious particular we are indebted to
 the duke of *Sully*, whose account cannot but be look-
 ed on as most authentic. “ One part of the orders I
 “ had given, (says he, speaking of his English embas-
 “ sage) in regard to the ceremony of my audience,
 “ was, that all my retinue shall appear in mourning;
 “ whereby I should execute the first part of my com-
 “ mission, which consisted in complimenting the new
 “ king on the death of *Elizabeth*; though I had been
 “ informed at *Calais*, that no one, whether ambassa-
 “ dor,

even speaking himself not only without
gratitude,

“ dor, foreigner or *English*, was admitted into the
“ presence of the new king in black : and *Beaumont*
“ (the French resident) had since represented to me,
“ that what I intended would most certainly be highly
“ disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affect-
“ tion prevailed to obliterate the memory of that
“ great queen, that she was never spoke of, and even
“ the mention of her name industriously avoided. I
“ should have been very glad not to have been sensible
“ of the necessity under which I was of appearing in a
“ garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the
“ king and all *England* ; but my orders were hereupon
“ positive, not to mention that they were also most
“ laudable : and this was the reason I paid no regard to
“ *Beaumont*, who intreated me to defer putting myself
“ to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about
“ it to *Erskine*, and some others, who were best ac-
“ quainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote ac-
“ cordingly, but received no answer on *Thursday*, *Fri-*
“ *day*, nor even all day on *Saturday* ; and I still persisted
“ in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which
“ he continually gave me to the contrary. On *Sa-*
“ *turday* night, which was the evening of the day pre-
“ ceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed,
“ *Beaumont* came to tell me, that *Erskine* had sent to
“ acquaint him, that the whole court considered my
“ intention as a premeditated affront ; and that I had
“ so offended the king by it, that nothing could more
“ effectually prevent the success of my negotiation from
“ its very commencement. This information agreeing
“ with that of my lord *Sidney*, &c. it was impossible
“ for me to be in doubt about it : and through fear lest
“ a greater evil might ensue, I caused all my retinue to
“ change their apparel, and provide themselves others
“ as well as they could. *Leakoner* (master of the cere-
“ monies) being come the next morning to inform me,
“ that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock
“ in

gratitude, respect, or regard of her; but also with contempt, to the amazement of stand-ers

“ clock in the afternoon; I perceived from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders which I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance: nevertheless, it publickly gained me as much honour as if I had persisted in it throughout, because none were ignorant I had complied only through absolute necessity.” (a) I

make no apology for the length of this quotation; readers of taste will be glad to find it here, and will not fail of remarking on the unaccountable ingratitude and weakness of *James*. His obligations to *Elizabeth* were great; she had supplied him constantly with money when in Scotland, and though she had a power, with consent of parliament, she gave not away the crown of England from him; on her death-bed she declared him her heir, and in consequence thereof he took peaceable possession of the throne. Ought he not then to have retained a respect for her memory, and treated her name with honour? should he not have owned his obligations, and celebrated her fame? should he have forbid his subjects mourning for the loss of so excellent a princess, or refused compliments of condolence from foreigners on the account of it? What! should the memory of such a princess be obliterated in a few months, even in her own court, and the glory of all her great actions be forgotten? must her humbling Spain, her supporting the Protestant interest abroad, and establishing it at home; her attention to the national interest and honour, and raising the English crown to be the envy and admiration of Europe; must these be unspoken, uncelebrated? such was the intention of *James*. But posterity more grateful, more just than that court, has mentioned her name with honour, and sounded forth the glories of her reign. To resemble her has been thought honourable to princes, and her government has been set forth as a model for their imitation.—So that

envy,

(a) Sully's
memoirs,
Vol. II. p. 19.

ers by (EE). He was excessively addicted to

envy, ignorance, spite, revenge and malice, with their united force, avail little against the reputations founded on great and beneficent actions; and the true hero, the patriot prince, may despise their efforts, and rest secure that in the annals of after-ages, their characters shall shine with the greatest lustre, and their actions be celebrated as they deserve. A noble motive this to generous minds to pursue the publick good with earnestness! and a motive, which, if well considered, will cause them to be unwearied, and persevering in the pursuit.

(a) Sully,
Vol. II. p.
26.

(c) Id. p. 89.
compare this
with what is
said in note
(H).

(EE) He spoke with contempt of her.] Sully giving an account of his first audience at court, tells us, that after James had spoken several things to him, "the late queen (*Elizabeth*) was mentioned, but without one word in her praise." (a) In another conversation he had with the king, he observes, "that an opportunity presenting for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, adds he, with some sort of contempt. He even went so far as to say, that in *Scotland*, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than her." (b) I doubt not Sully smiled inwardly at the vanity of James, and heartily detested his baseness with regard to the memory of *Elizabeth*; for no one better knew her worth than this ambassador, no one set a greater value on it. With what indignation then may we suppose him filled, when he heard her name thus treated by her successor? and what a despicable opinion must he entertain of him? but he suppressed his sentiments on this head, and set himself to please him, of whom 'tis plain from his memorials, he had but a poor opinion. I shall only add here, that the highest merit cannot escape the tongues of the ignorant and malicious, though, for the most part, it is unhurt by them.

ease and pleasure (FF), and indulged himself in drinking, even so far as to render himself

(FF) He was excessively given to ease and pleasure.]

Sully relates, that "James quitted the company to go

"to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon,

"sometimes the whole of it (a)." — "And his

"thoughts were intent on ease and pleasure, says Os-

"born (b)." This would have been far enough from a

virtue in a private man, but in a prince it must be looked

on as a vice. For the love of ease and pleasure enervates

the mind, and tends to render it incapable of what is

great. And there are but few princes who have in-

dulged this disposition, that have made any greater figure

in history than the prince of whom we are discoursing.

Alexander, Cæsar, and Henry IV. of France, loved

pleasure as well as any men; but then they had no-

thing indolent in their temper, and had so much am-

bition, that they could not possibly abstain from striving

to render their names glorious. But James not only

loved pleasure, but ease, and therefore was incapable of

being more significant in life, than are the generality of

eastern princes, immured in seraglios, and strangers to

every thing but what their viziers or eunuchs please to

inform them of, for their entertainment or amusement.

So that princes of this indolent disposition neglect the

affairs of government, and are ruled by ministers and

favourites, and the people are left to be fleeced and op-

pressed, to supply the calls of luxury and pleasure. Un-

happy princes! unhappy people! the former destitute of

true worth, the latter groaning under vile bondage.—

How much then does it concern those who are advan-

ced to dominion, to exert themselves, and employ their

time and talents in examining the state of those under

them, and promoting their welfare? how much does it

behave them to be diligent in business, skilful in affairs,

and attentive to the representations and complaints of

their subjects? By these means alone can they answer

the end of their advancement, obtain reputation, pro-

—

F

cure

(a) Sully,
Vol. II.

p. 92.

(b) Osborn,
p. 470.

himself sometimes contemptible (GG). And from

cure success, and have the love and affection of those over whom they bear rule. To which let me add, that indolent princes are very insecure; they become victims frequently to the ambition of their own servants, and fall, though not unpitied, yet quite unlamented. For the people have sense enough to know, that a life devoted to ease and pleasure, is of no importance to them, and therefore, with indifference, see it destroyed, though by those who ought to have defended it.

(GG) Indulged himself in drinking, &c.] *Weldon* observes, that “*James* was not intemperate in his drinking;” but he adds, “however in his old age, and “*Buckingham’s* jovial suppers, when he had any turn “to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, “which he would the very next day remember, and “repent with tears: it is true, he drank very often, “which was rather out of a custom than any delight, “and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as “frontiniack, canary, high-country wine, tent wine, “and Scotch ale, that had he not had a very strong brain, “might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfuls, “many times not above one or two (a).”——This is very modest in *Weldon*. But other authors go a little farther, and make *James* shew himself beneath a man by his intemperance. “The king was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking (says *Coke*) not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with drinking these wines, and to that purpose he was attended with a special officer, who was as much as could be always at hand, to fill the king’s cup in his hunting, when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that being hunting with the “king,

(a) *Weldon*,
p. 166.

from his known love of masculine beauty,
his excessive favour to such as were pos-
sessed

“ king, after the king had drank of the wine, he also
“ drank of it, and though he was young and of an
“ healthful constitution, it so disordered his head, that
“ it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three
“ days after. Whether it was from drinking these
“ wines, or from some other cause, the king became
“ so lazy and unweildy, that he was *trist* on horse-
“ back, and as he was set, so would he ride, without
“ otherwise poisoning himself on his saddle; nay, when
“ his hat was set on his head, he would not take the
“ pains to alter it, but it sat as it was upon him (b).” (b) Coke’s
I doubt not but this account is true, *Sully* taking no- detection,
tice, that “ *James’s* custom was never to mix water Vol. I. p. 42.
“ with his wine (c).” And therefore, though Sir Edward (c) *Sully*,
Peyton be a partial writer, and prejudiced much against Vol. II. p.
the *Stuart* race, yet I believe the following story from 90.
him will not be deemed improbable. “ When the king (d) *Peyton’s*
“ of Denmark [brother-in-law to *James*] was first of divine cata-
“ all in England, both kings were so drunk at *Theo-* strophe of
“ *bald’s*, as our king was carried in the arms of the the kingly
“ courtiers, when one cheated another of the bed- family of the
“ chamber, for getting a grant from king *James*, for house of
“ that he would give him the best jewel in England for *Stuarts*, p.
“ a jewel of a hundred pound he promised him; and 30. 8vo.
“ so put king *James* in his arms, and carried him to Lond. 1731.
“ his lodging, and defrauded the bed-chamber man, These quo-
“ who had much ado to get the king into his bed. tations from
“ And *Denmark* was so disguised, as he would have Weldon,
“ lain with the countess of *Nottingham*, making horns Coke, and
“ in derision at her husband, the high admiral of Eng- *Peyton*, are
“ land (d).” I said just now, this story, I believed, very oddly
would not be thought improbable; and I doubt not the and inaccu-
reader by the following letter of the countess of *Not-* rately ex-
tingham to the Danish ambassador, will readily assent to pressed; but
it, seeing it confirms so chief a part of it as the reader the reader
behaviour of the Danish king to that lady. ’Tis wrote must take
please.

essed of it, and unseemly Caresses of them,
one

with spirit, and worthy perusal, which therefore I insert
at large.

“ S I R,

“ I am very sorry this occasion should have been of-
“ fered me by the king your master, which makes me
“ troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to
“ me by men of honour, the great wrong the king of
“ Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer
“ for myself; for if I had been present, I would have
“ letten him know how much I scorn to receive that
“ wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particu-
“ lar of it, for the king himself knows it best. I pro-
“ test to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the
“ king your master, as I did of my own prince; but
“ now I persuade myself there is as much baseness in
“ him as can be in any man; for although he be a
“ prince by birth, it seems not to me that there har-
“ bours any princely thought in his breast; for either
“ in prince or subject, it is the basest that can be to
“ wrong any woman of honour. I deserve as little
“ that name he gave me, as either the mother of him-
“ self, or of his children; and if ever I come to know
“ what man hath informed your master so wrongfully
“ of me, I shall do my best for putting him from do-
“ ing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the
“ tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad
“ to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any
“ further, I rest

“ your friend,

“ M. NOTTINGHAM (e).”

(e) Supple-
ment to the
Cabala, p.
96. 4to.
Lond. 1654.

There can, I think, remain no doubt but that *Pey-
ton's* account is true; and consequently, when consider-
ed with what *Weldon* and *Coke* relate, it must be be-
lieved, that *James* addicted himself to drinking in such
a manner,

one would be tempted to think, that he was not wholly free from a vice most unnatural (HH).

He

a manner, as to render himself sometimes contemptible.

“ For it is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes

“ strong drink; lest they drink and forget the law,

“ and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted (f).” (f) Prov.

Drunkenness throws princes off their guard, and ex- xxxi. 4.

poses those weaknesses which it most of all behoves them

to conceal; and it takes off that reverence for their

persons, which is necessary to make their subjects stand

in a proper awe of them, and pay a submission to their

commands. It debases the man, sinks the prince, spoils

the politician, and reveals those secrets which are most

necessary to be concealed. “ Drunkenness, says *Mon-*

“ *taigne*, seems to me to be a gross and brutish vice.

“ The soul has the greatest interest in all the rest, and

“ there are some vices that have something, if a man

“ may so say, of generous in them. There are vices

“ wherein there is a mixture of knowledge, diligence,

“ valour, prudence, dexterity, and cunning: this is

“ totally corporeal and earthly, and the thickest skulled

“ nation [the Germans] this day in Europe, is that

“ where it is most in fashion. Other vices discompose

“ the understanding, this totally overthrows it, and

“ renders the body stupid (g).” These reflections seem (g) *Mon-*

just and obvious, but they occurred not to the mind of *taigne*, Vol.

James, or made little impression on him; for he seems II. p. 15.

to have been guided in his whole behaviour more by will

and humour, by passion and inclination, than by wis-

dom, prudence, or discretion. So that his knowledge

was of little service to him, and seldom caused him to

act as a wise man, or an understanding king. It en-

abled him to talk, but was wholly insufficient to regu-

late his actions; and so, in effect, was no better than

ignorance.

(HH) From his known love of masculine beauty,

F 3

&c.]

He used cursing and swearing in his common

&c.] I shall give my authorities, and leave the reader to judge what conclusion is to be drawn from them. —
 “ As no other reason appeared in favour of their [the
 “ favourites of *James*] choice but handsomeness, so
 “ the love the king shewed, was as amorously conveyed as if he had mistaken their sex, and thought them
 “ ladies; which I have seen *Somerset* and *Buckingham*
 “ labour to resemble in the effeminateness of their dressings; though in w—— looks, and wanton gestures,
 “ they exceeded any part of woman-kind my conversation did ever cope withal. Nor was his love, or
 “ whatever else posterity will please to call it, (who
 “ must be the judges of all that history shall inform)
 “ carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a less
 “ scandalous behaviour; for the king’s kissing them
 “ after so lascivious a mode in public, and upon the
 “ theatre as it were of the world, prompted many to
 “ imagine some things done in the tiring-house, that
 “ exceed my expressions no less than they do my experience; and therefore left floating on the waves of
 “ conjecture, which hath in my hearing tossed them
 “ from one side to another. I have heard that Sir *Henry Rich*, since earl of *Holland*, and some others, refused his majesty’s favour upon those conditions they
 “ subscribed to, who filled that place in his affection:
 “ *Rich* losing that opportunity his curious face and complexion afforded him, by turning aside and spitting
 “ after the king had flabbered his mouth (a).” — “ *Weldon*, who saw *James*’s parting with *Somerset*, just before his commitment for *Overbury*’s murder, says,
 “ that had you seen that seeming affection, you would
 “ rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. The earl when he kissed his hand, the king
 “ hung about his neck, flabbering his cheeks, saying,
 “ for God’s sake when shall I see thee again? on my
 “ soul I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again;
 “ the earl told him on Monday (this being on the Friday)
 “ day)

(a) Osborn,
 P. 534.

“ day) for God’s sake let me, said the king; shall I?
 “ shall I? then lolled about his neck; then for God’s
 “ sake give thy lady this kiss for me: in the same
 “ manner at the stairs-head, at the middle of the stairs,
 “ and at the stairs-foot (b).” The same writer observes, (b) Weldon,
 that “ he was not very uxorious, for he was ever best P. 95.
 “ when farthest from his queen (c).” And in another (c) Id. p. 168.
 place he says, “ that *James* naturally hated women (d).” (d) p. 125.
Peyton writes, that “ *James* was more addicted to love
 “ males than females; and that though for compli-
 “ ment he visited queen *Anne*, yet he never lodged
 “ with her a night for many years (e).” —The fol- (e) *Peyton’s*
 lowing satyr, said to be left on his cupboard, will shew divine ca-
 us the sense those times had of this matter. tastrophe,
 p. 14.

Aula prophana, religione vana,
 Spreta uxore, Ganymedis amore,
 Lege sublata, prerogativa inflata.
 Tolle libertatem, incende civitatem,
 Ducas spadonem
 &
 Superaſti Neronem (f).

I know not well the authority of the book from which
 I quote these lines; ’tis very bitter against the *Stuart*
 race, and written with great partiality. I am informed
 by a learned friend, that ’tis thought to be written by
 the above-cited *Peyton*: But I am of a different opi-
 nion. *Peyton’s divine catastrophe*, tho’ partial enough,
 has many true passages in it; but the *Noneſuch Charles*
 seems chiefly invention, in order to blacken and defame.
 Besides, such was the zeal of *Peyton* against *Charles* and
 his house, that I fancy he would have thought it a merit
 to have been the author of any work tending to its
 disgrace, and therefore have set his name to it; for he
 who had been afraid of after-resentment, would never
 have publickly owned the *divine catastrophe*. Add to
 this, that *Wood*, in reckoning up *Peyton’s* writings,
 mentions nothing of this piece, which if it had been
 his ’tis difficult to account for (g). However, as the
 insinuation in this satyr is supported by other authorities,

(f) The
 Noneſuch
 Charles, his
 character,
 p. 17. 12mo.
 Lond. 1651.

(g) *Wood’s*
Arhenæ Ox-
onienses,
Vol. II. c.
156. edit. 2
Lond. 1721.
Folio.

'tis of little importance whether the author who gives it us be of any great account, or no.—Let us now return to our subject.—The authors above quoted may be deemed by some not quite so favourable to the character of *James* as could be wished, and therefore not so much to be relied on. But what shall we say to *Clarendon*, who owns, that the “first introduction of George Villiers into favour, was purely from the handsomeness of his person (b): and that the king’s natural disposition was very flowing in affection towards persons so adorned.” Dr. Birch observes of this same Villiers, that “he had scarce any other advantages to recommend him to his majesty, than those of a most graceful person. Upon what terms of familiarity, adds he, he was with his royal master is evident, not much to the honour of either of them, from two volumes of original letters which passed between them, still extant in the *Harleian* library, full of the obscenest expressions in our language, and such as Dr. *Welwood*, who has given some extracts from those letters, says, *might make a bawd to blush to repeat*. So impure a correspondence is an amazing inconsistency with those theological and devotional tracts which the king gave the world with so much pomp among his works, and which he caused to be translated into and published in both the Latin and French tongues (i).”

(b) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 9, 10.

(i) Birch’s view of the negotiations, &c. p. 384.

That the reader may have as much light as possible in this matter, I will transcribe Dr. *Welwood*’s account of the letters which passed between *James* and *Buckingham*, to which Dr. *Birch* refers. “The letters, says he, which passed between the king and *Buckingham*, are wrote in a peculiar stile of familiarity, the king for the most part calling him his *dear child* and *gossip*, and his *dear child and gossip Steiny*; and subscribing himself his *dear dad and gossip*, and sometimes his *dear dad and Stuart*; and once, when he sends him partridges, his *dear dad and purveyor*. *Buckingham* calls the king, for the most part, *dear dad and gossip*, and sometimes, *dear dad, gossip, and Stuart*, and sub-

scribes

“ scribes always, *your majesty's most humble slave and*
“ *dog, Steiny.*

“ Not to blot these papers with the bawdy that is in
“ some of these letters of king *James*, I shall only ob-
“ serve, that such was the familiarity and friendship be-
“ tween him and *Buckingham*, that in one of them he
“ tells *Buckingham*, *he wears Steiny's picture under his*
“ *waistcoat, next his heart*; and in another, *he bids*
“ *him, his only sweet and dear child, hasten to him to*
“ *Birely that night, that his white teeth might shine upon*
“ *him.* But the reader may better judge of the rest of
“ king *James's* familiar letters to the duke of *Bucking-*
“ *ham*, by the following short one, which runs thus
“ *verbatim*, and is without date.

“ My only sweet and dear child,

“ Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart's roots, and
“ all thine, this thursday morning. Here is great store
“ of game as they say, partridges and stoncorleurs: I
“ know who shall get their part of them; and here is
“ the finest company of young hounds that ever was
“ seen. God blefs the sweet master of my harriers,
“ that made them to be so well kept all summer; I
“ mean *Tom Badger*. I assure myself thou wilt punc-
“ tually observe the dyet and journey I set thee down
“ in my first letter from *Theobald's*. God blefs thee,
“ and my sweet *Kate*, and Mall, to the comfort of
“ thy

“ dear Dad,

“ JAMES R.

“ P. S. Let my last compliment settle to thy heart,
“ till we have a sweet and comfortable meeting, which
“ God send, and give thee grace to bid the drogues adieu
“ this day.

“ Now the reason why *James* gave *Buckingham* the
“ name of *Steiny*, was for his handsomeness, it being
“ the diminutive of St. Stephen, who is always painted
“ with a glory about his face (*k*).”

(*k*) Compleat
history of
England,
Vol. II. p.
697. Folio.
Lond. 1706.

I have

mon conversation (11); and stuck not, on occasion,

I have now given my authorities for the assertion in the text, the inference I leave to the reader, being unwilling to say more on a subject so disagreeable to the ears of the chaste and virtuous. I have added nothing, nor suppressed any thing; and therefore, as a meer relator, am liable, I think, to no censure. Had I met with any thing favourable to *James* in this matter, I would have declared it with great pleasure; but I cannot allow myself to invent, in order to vindicate.

(11) He used cursing and swearing.] Here follow my proofs.—“ He would make a great deal too bold “ with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy; “ but would in his better temper say, he hoped God “ would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his “ charge, seeing they proceeded from passion. (a).”
 (a) Weldon, p. 172. An excellent reason this! and an admirable excuse for an acknowledged crime. *James*, weak as he was, would have seen the folly of this plea in others, and would have censured them for making use of it. But any thing will serve for an excuse to those who chuse to do as they have been accustomed, and will not be at the pains to reform.—That *James* was a swearer, appears from Lord *Clarendon*, who says “ he renounced “ with many oaths the having communicated the prince’s “ journey into Spain (b).” Oaths are highly indecent in princes: they are greatly impolitic also, as lessening the regard which ought to be payed unto them in courts of judicature, and leading thereby to perjury. Princes therefore should shew the greatest reverence to oaths, in order thereby to keep up their sacredness, and secure the truth and fidelity of their subjects. Those of them who will not thus behave, pay generally very dear for their liberty; for their servants and subjects taking example by them, run into the same excess, whereby they receive the greatest damage. So that interest alone, if well

(b) Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 16.

occasion, to utter the most bitter imprecations (κκ) on himself, and on his posterity. And

well understood and considered, will engage those who bear rule, to set before men good examples, and abstain from the appearance of evil; and such of them as are not induced hereunto by a sense of it, have no great reason to boast of their understanding.

(κκ) He stuck not to utter the most bitter imprecations on himself, and on his posterity.] When the trial of the murderers of Sir Thomas *Overbury* was going forwards, the king went from *Whitehall* to *Theobald's*, and so to *Royston*, and having sent for all the judges, he kneeled down in the midst of his lords and servants, and used these words to the judges. “ My lords, I charge “ you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadful “ day of judgment, that you examine it [the poisoning “ of *Overbury*] strictly without favour, affection, or “ partiality; and if you spare any guilty of this crime, “ God’s curse light upon you and your posterity; and “ if I spare any that are found guilty, God’s curse “ light on me and my posterity for ever (a).” And in (a) *Weldon*, the second year of his reign “ several lords having de- P. 93. “ clared in the star-chamber, that some of the puri- “ tans had raised a false rumour of the king, how he “ intended to grant a toleration to papists; the lords “ severally declared, how the king was discontented “ with the said false rumour, and had made but the “ day before a protestation unto them, that he never “ intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of “ his blood before he would do it; and prayed, that “ before any of his issue should maintain any other re- “ ligion than what he truly professed and maintained, that “ God would take them out of the world (b).” These (b) *Croke’s* reports, part 2, p. 38. are deep and horrible imprecations, and enough to make a man tremble to think on the profaneness of the mouth that could utter them; especially when it is known that notwithstanding there were so many witnesses to these *Lond. 1683. Folio.*

And yet notwithstanding, upon times, he gave himself great airs of religion (LL), and talked

these his words) he spared *Somerſet* and his lady, the principal actors in *Overbury's* tragedy; and that he not only intended, but did grant a toleration to papists, as will be shewn hereafter. How far his imprecations have affected his posterity, is not, I think, for man to say. But, without breach of charity, we may assert, that *James* was very rash and inconsiderate, and guilty of a great fault in calling down the judgments of heaven thus on himself and his family. 'Tis good advice which the wise man gives, and which was worthy of the regard of this British *Solomon*, in the following words, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few (c)." A sense of the omnipresence, power, wisdom, and majesty of the superintending mind, would have restrained *James* from these rash and horrible wishes; but he seems to have had little notion of any of these things, but rather to have been one of those who deal in holy things without any feeling. These, in lord *Bacon's* opinion, are "the great atheists, who must, says he, be needs cauterized in the end (d)." Deplorable state! dismal condition! happy those, who by an uniform course of virtuous actions, can look on the almighty being as their friend! who are careful at all times to do what they themselves think right, and agreeable to him: the religion of such is real, and their happiness certain.

(c) Eccles.
v. 2.

(d) Bacon's
essay on atheism.

(LL) He gave himself airs of religion, &c.] Here follows a passage from *Sully*, tending to verify the text. "*James* asked me, says he, whether I went to the protestant church in *London*? upon my replying that I did, then, said he, you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of *Sancy*, who thought thereby to make his fortune

talked after such a manner, as to lead those who

“ fortune, but, by God’s permission, did just the contrary. I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in *France* in friendship with so many ecclesiasticks, and being so frequently visited by the pope’s nuncio, might, perhaps, have given rise to it. Do you give the pope the title of holiness? said *James*. I replied, that, to conform to the custom established in *France*, I did. He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by so frequently giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve (a).” Let us add the following memorandum (a) Sully’s of the illustrious archbishop *Usher* to *Sully*, and we shall memoirs, need nothing more to convince us of the solemn airs of Vol. II. p. religion *James*, at some times, could put on. “ I was 33. appointed by the lower house of parliament, to preach at St. *Maagaret’s*, *Westminster*, Feb. 7, 1620. Feb. 13, being *Shrove Tuesday*, I dined at court, and betwixt four and five kissed the king’s hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said, *I had charge of an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday*. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tied (upon so short warning) to receive the communion upon a day, all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the house: many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required all his whole household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at *Easter*, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bad me to tell them, I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable
“ state

who were unacquainted with him, to believe that he had a more than ordinary degree

(b) Usher's
life and let-
ters by Parr,
p. 17, 18.
Lond. 1686.
Folio.

“state of Christendom, with *bis dat qui citò dat* (b).”
—— This kind of talk would have suited well enough the mouth of some honest, well-meaning ecclesiastic, and edified, no doubt, very much those who heard it. But it sounds strange from *James*, who was addicted to so many vices, and whose oaths and imprecations were so common. Shall we suppose him wholly hypocritical in these speeches, and intirely unconcerned about the things he talked of; though from other parts of his behaviour, one might be led to make this conclusion, yet, perhaps, we should be mistaken in so doing. For, however, it be, men's characters are too often inconsistent, and they strangely blend what they call religion, with the practice of the most odious and detestable vices. By a concern for the one, they excuse to themselves the other, and so come at length to imagine, that they are acceptable to the deity, though they break the most sacred of his laws. Thus we read of John *Basilides*, great duke of Muscovy, the most wicked of men, the most detestable of tyrants, that he would pray and fast in a most extraordinary manner, and be as devout as possible himself, and make others so too (c). And, in the same manner, numbers of cruel persecutors, and ambitious, selfish, avaritious wretches, are exceedingly zealous and exact in their devotions, and come not behind, in these things, the most sincere and virtuous persons. So that 'tis not improbable *James* might be in earnest when he talked in these strains, and please himself to think, that he was both so wise and so religious a king. Amazing delusion! terrible deceit! To the all-piercing eye of heaven all is naked and open, no disguises can conceal from, no artifices impose on it; and therefore men should look well to it, that they are what they would seem to be.—— A prince openly vicious and profane, only hurts the interest of religion, by appearing, on occasion, its votary. Standers-by will look with ridicule

(c) See Ca-
saubon of
enthusiasm,
p. 279, 8vo.
Lond. 1656.

gree of sanctity. Hunting (MM) was a favourite

dicule and abhorrence on his interesting himself in its affairs, and will not be prevailed on to believe that he is in earnest about it.——Hence possibly it has come to pass, that courts have been so little famed for the practice of religion. For the manners of the generality of princes being not over good, those about them think they shall pay their court to them more by conforming to their example, than by obeying their edict. When they speak therefore of religion, they are not listened unto; when they command, by those about them, they are not obeyed: for they are considered as only acting a part, and therefore having no real concern about what they seem to engage in.

(MM) Hunting was a favourite diversion with him, &c.] Let us hear *Sully*. “From this subject [the insincerity of the Spaniards] the king of England passed to that of the chace, for which he shewed me an extraordinary passion. He said he knew very well that I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of *Rosny*, but as ambassador from a king, who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; to which, with the greatest politeness, he added, that *Henry* was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of *France* could not. I replied, that *Henry* loved all the exercises; but that none of them ever made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers (a).” (a) *Sully*, Vol. II. p. 29. Had *James* imitated his brother of *France* in attending his affairs, and inspecting the proceeding of his ministers, he might have enjoyed the pleasure of hunting without censure. For’tis but reasonable that princes should have a relaxation from business as well as other men.

But,

-favourite diversion with him, which he practised

But says Mr. Chamberlaine to Mr. *Winwood*, in a letter dated Jan. 26, 1604, "the king finds that felicity in that hunting life, that he hath written to the council, that it is the only means to maintain his health, which being the health and welfare of us all, he desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business (b)." A man who preferred hunting to the affairs of state, was unworthy of the crown he wore, and undeserving the regard of his people.

(b) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 46.

For such a one neglected the end of his appointment, and therefore merited the contempt he met with.—*James* never loved business. In Scotland, says *Melvil*, "the earl of *Arran* desired him to recreate himself at hunting, and he would attend the council, and report again at his majesty's return, all our opinions and conclusions (c)." He hearkened to his advice, or rather followed his own inclinations, and thereby numberless mischiefs ensued. He was never the wiser for this we see; for his aversion to business was the same, and so was his passion for hunting: so that he had lived to no purpose, and was incapable of being taught by experience.

(c) *Melvil*, p. 139.

Osborn tells us, he saw "him dressed in colours green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side (d). A pretty picture this of a prince, and tending to excite much reverence in the beholders. But when men's minds are bent on diversions, they care for nothing more than their own pleasure and amusement, and are thoughtless of what *Standers-by* think or say of them.—I will give the reader some fine observations on this subject of hunting, from a writer whose great genius and elevated rank entitle him to be heard with deference and respect, and with them conclude the note. "Hunting is one of those sensual pleasures which exercise the body, without affecting the mind; it is an ardent desire of pursuing

(d) *Osborn*, p. 495.

tised so much, as to neglect the great and weighty business of state, and leave every thing

“ pursuing some wild beast, for the cruel satisfaction of
 “ destroying it; an amusement which renders the body
 “ robust and active, and leaves the mind fallow and
 “ uncultivated. Sportsmen, perhaps, will reproach me
 “ here with gravity and preaching, and alledge, that I
 “ assume the prerogative of a priest in his pulpit, who
 “ may assert whatever he pleases, without being afraid
 “ of contradiction. Hunting, say they, is the noblest
 “ and most antient of all amusements; the patriarchs
 “ and many other eminent men were hunters; and by
 “ this we continue to exercise that dominion over the
 “ beasts, which God vouchsafed to give *Adam*. But
 “ no folly is the better for being antient, especially
 “ if it is carried to extravagance: many great men, I
 “ own, have been passionately fond of this diversion;
 “ but these had their weaknesses as well as perfections:
 “ Let us imitate their great qualities, without copying
 “ after their little and idle occupations. The same pa-
 “ triarchs were not only given to hunting, but to po-
 “ lygamy, nay, would marry their own sisters, and
 “ had many other customs which favoured of the bar-
 “ barous ages wherein they lived. They were rude, ig-
 “ norant, and uncultivated idle men, who, to kill time,
 “ employed it in hunting, and threw away those mo-
 “ ments in useless amusements, which they had no ca-
 “ pacity to employ in the company and conversation of
 “ men of understanding. Let me now ask whether
 “ these are examples to be imitated; whether these bar-
 “ barous ages, or others that were more refined, ought
 “ to be the model of the present? To enquire whether
 “ *Adam* received dominion over the beasts, would be
 “ foreign to my subject; but it is well known, that
 “ men have been always more cruel and ravenous than
 “ the beasts themselves, and make the most tyrannical
 “ use of that dominion they pretend to. If any thing
 “ gives us advantage over these animals, it is certainly

thing of consequence to be transacted by his council, to his no small dishonour.

He

“ our reason ; but professed hunters, for the most part,
 “ have their heads furnished with nothing but horses,
 “ dogs, boars, stags, and the like. They are some-
 “ time as wild and savage themselves as the beasts they
 “ pursue ; and it may well be feared lest they should be-
 “ come as inhuman to their fellow-creatures, as they
 “ are to their fellow-animals, or at least that the cruel
 “ custom of persecuting and destroying these, may take
 “ away their sympathy for the misfortunes of the o-
 “ thers. And is this so noble an occupation, so worthy
 “ of a thinking being ? It may be objected that hunt-
 “ ing is an healthful exercise, and that those who are
 “ given to it live to a great age, as appears by experi-
 “ ence ; that it is a harmless amusement, and very pro-
 “ per for soveraigns, as it displays their magnificence,
 “ dissipates their cares, and in times of peace presents
 “ them with an image of war. I would be far from
 “ condemning a moderate use of this exercise, but let
 “ it be remembered, that exercise in general is hardly
 “ necessary to any but the intemperate. Never prince
 “ lived longer than cardinal *Fleury*, cardinal *Ximenes*,
 “ or the late pope, and yet neither of the three was a
 “ hunter. But is it necessary to chuse an employment
 “ which has no other merit but that of promising long
 “ life ? *Monks* commonly live longer than other men ;
 “ must a man therefore become a monk ? there is no
 “ need of leading an indolent and useless life, as long as
 “ that of *Methusalem* : the more a man improves his
 “ understanding, and the more great and useful actions
 “ he performs, the longer he lives. Hunting, besides,
 “ is of all amusements that which is least proper for a
 “ prince : he may display his magnificence a thousand
 “ ways, that are all more useful to his subjects : and if
 “ it should be found, that the peasants were ruined by
 “ the too great number of wild beasts, the care of de-
 “ stroying these might be committed to professed hunt-
 “ ers

He had a vehement desire to be thought learned, and master of the controversies then on foot, which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hampton-Court (NN), between the episcopalians and the puritans,

“ers hired for that purpose. The proper employment
“of a prince is that of improving his own mind, and
“governing his people, in order to acquire more know-
“ledge, and consequently be able to accommodate his
“government to their interest. It must not be omitted,
“that to be a great general, there is no need of being
“a hunter. *Gustavus Adolphus*, marshal *Turenne*, the
“duke of *Marlborough*, and prince *Eugene*, whose
“characters as able generals and illustrious men, will
“not be questioned, were not hunters; nor do we read
“of the huntings of *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, or *Scipio*.—
“I conclude therefore, that it is excusable in a prince
“to go a hunting, if it is but seldom, and to refresh
“him after his serious and often melancholy employ-
“ments. I say once more, I object to no honest plea-
“sure; but the care of rendring a state flourishing and
“happy, and of protecting and encouraging arts and
“sciences, is unquestionably a much superior pleasure,
“and much fitter employment for a prince; and who-
“ever betakes himself to any other, neither consults
“his pleasure nor his interest (a).”

(a) Anti-
Machiavel,
p. 155—164.
8vo. Lond.
1741.

(NN) Which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hampton Court, &c.] This conference was begun Jan. 14, 1603. in pursuance of a proclamation for that purpose, dated Oct. 24, of the same year. The professed design of it was to examine into the objections of the puritans, against the doctrine, government, and discipline of the established church, and rectify abuses crept into it. But the king had little of this at heart; his design was to shew his learning, and mortify the puritans, which he did as well as he could.

the puritans, where he set up for a disputant,

He talked therefore of the name and use of confirmation, and the occasion of its being first brought in; of absolution, private baptism, and excommunication; points well worthy the study of a king, and coming with great propriety from his mouth. "Absolution," he declared, was apostolical, and a very good ordinance, in that it was given in the name of Christ to one that desired it, and upon the clearing of his conscience. (a)." He maintained "the necessity of baptism, where it might be lawfully had, id est, ministered by lawful ministers, by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might not in any case be administered. After which he learnedly observed, that though the minister be not of the essence of the sacrament [of baptism] yet he is of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament (b)." These discourses passed between the king and bishops alone on the first day, greatly, I dare say, to their rejoicing. On the second day, the ministers who were to propose the demands of the puritans being called in, viz. *Reynolds*, *Sparks*, *Knewstubs*, and *Chadderton*, together with *Patrick Galloway*, sometime minister of *Perth* in *Scotland*; and their objections being all reduced into four heads, the king took on him to dispute the matters contained in them, with the ministers. It would be endless to relate all he said, for he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing. Two or three instances of his ostentatious pedantry shall therefore suffice. "His majesty taxed *St. Jerom* for his assertion, that a bishop was not *divinæ ordinationis*; which opinion he much distasted, approving their calling and use in the church, and closed it up with this short aphorism, *no bishop, no king* (c)." "Dr. *Reynolds* having made it an objection against the Apocrypha (ordered by the Common Prayer to be read) that the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlviii. 10. held the same opinion with the

(a) Barlow's account of the conference at Hampton-Court, in Vol. I. of the *Phoenix*, p. 145. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

(b) Id. p. 147.

(c) Id. p. 153.

" Jews

tant, and behaved with a great and visible partiality.

“ Jews at this day, namely, that *Elias* in person was
 “ to come before Christ; and therefore as yet Christ,
 “ by that reason, not come in the flesh: I say Dr. *Reynolds*
 “ having made this objection, his majesty calling
 “ for a bible, first shewed the author of that book,
 “ who he was, then the cause why he wrote that book;
 “ next analyzed the chapter itself, shewing the precedents
 “ and consequences thereof; lastly, unfolded the
 “ sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating that
 “ whatsoever Ben Sirach had said there of *Elias*, *Elias*
 “ had in his own person while he lived, performed
 “ and accomplished (*d*).” He moreover declared, “ that (*d*) Id. p.
 “ he had never seen a bible well translated into English; 162, 163.
 “ that the translation of Geneva was the worst of all;
 “ that pains should be taken about an uniform translation
 “ of it, under certain restrictions, and more especially
 “ that no marginal notes should be added, having found,
 “ said he, in them which are annexed to the Geneva
 “ translation, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious,
 “ and favouring too much of dangerous and traitorous
 “ conceits (*e*).” Thus *James* shewed his (*e*) Id. p.
 learning in the midst of the lords of the council, and 157.
 the bishops and deans who attended. I doubt not, tho’
Reynolds was awed by the presence, and made not the
 figure he was capable of, that he heartily despised the
 prince who could talk after this rate, and dictate in
 matters out of his province.——Let us now see how
 his majesty endeavoured to mortify the puritans.

After expounding the chapter of Ecclesiasticus just
 mentioned, he addressed himself to the lords, and said,
 “ what, trow ye, make these men so angry with *Ecclesiasticus*?
 “ by my soul I think he was a bishop, or
 “ else they would never use him so (*f*).”——In answer (*f*) Id. p.
 to a question started how far an ordinance of the church 163.
 was to bind, without impeaching christian liberty?
James said, “ he would not argue that point, but answer
 “ therein as kings are wont to do in parliament,

partiality. Indeed, his conduct in this affair was

“ *le roy s’avisera* ; adding withal, that it smelled very
 “ rankly of anabaptism, comparing it to the usage of
 “ a beardless boy (one Mr. John *Black*) who the last
 “ conference his majesty had with the ministers of
 “ Scotland, in Dec. 1602, told him, that he would
 “ hold conformity with his majesty’s ordinances for
 “ matters of doctrine ; but for matters of ceremony,
 “ they were to be left in christian liberty to every man,
 “ as he received more and more light from the illumi-
 “ nation of God’s spirit, even till they go mad, quoth
 “ the king, with their own light. But I will none of
 “ that, I will have one doctrine, and one discipline,
 “ one religion in substance and in ceremony ; and
 “ therefore I charge you never to speak more to that
 “ point (how far you are bound to obey) when the
 “ church hath ordained it (g).” Afterwards speaking
 to the lords and bishops, he said, “ I will tell you, I
 “ have lived among this sort of men ever since I was
 “ ten years old ; but I may say of myself, as Christ
 “ said of himself, though I lived among them, yet, since
 “ I had ability to judge, I was never of them (h).”—
 thinking by somewhat Dr. *Reynolds* said, that the puri-
 tans aimed at a Scotch presbytery, the king observed,
 “ that it agreed with a monarchy, as God and the de-
 “ vil. Then *Jack* and *Tom*, and *Will* and *Dick* shall
 “ meet, added he, and at their pleasure censure me and
 “ my council, and all our proceedings. Then *Will*
 “ shall stand up and say, it must be thus ; then *Dick*
 “ shall reply, and say, nay, marry, but we will have
 “ it thus (i).” Afterwards asking if they had any thing
 further to object ? and being answered no, he said, “ if
 “ this was all, he would make them conform, or would
 “ hurry them out of the land, or else do worse (k).”
 —This was the behaviour of *James* in this celebrated
 conference ; a behaviour contemptible and ridiculous,
 and such as must expose him to standers-by.—
 What then must we think of archbishop *Whitgift*, who
 said

(g) Id. p.
166.

(b) Compare
this with the
notes (M)
and (s)

(i) Id. p. 169.

(k) Id. p. 170.

was such, as has been severely censured on almost all hands (oo), as it well deserved.

In

said "that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit?" What of bishop *Bancroft*, who on his knee protested "that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto almighty God, the singular mercy in given them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been (l)." Or what of the temporal lords, who (l) Id. p. 174. could applaud his majesty's speeches as "proceeding from the spirit of God, and from an understanding heart (m)." May we not say, that they knew well (m) Id. p. 170. how to dissemble, and to maintain the character of good courtiers better than of honest men? — *Barlow* thought he had done a great piece of service to *James*, by publishing this conference, but a worse office; in reality, could not have been done him. Posterity, by his account, see *James's* pedantry; and to see it, is to despise it. The puritans, therefore, needed not to have complained so much as they have done of *Barlow* (n). (n) See Fuller's church hist. book 10. cent. 17. p. 21. Lond. 1655. Folio. If he has not represented their arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by shewing, that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and that their mortal foe *James* had but a low understanding, and was underserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually, and therefore, whatever was his intention, the puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for proof of the insufficiency of him who set himself up as a decider of their controversies.

(oo) His conduct was such, as has been severely censured, &c.] I say nothing of the puritans; they were too much parties to be looked on as impartial judges; and *James's* conduct towards them was such,

In the year 1605, on the fifth day of Nov.
was

as must necessarily give them but a poor opinion of his understanding and justice. Nor will I give the opinion of *Barlow* or *Heylin*: the first had his court to make, the other was a bigot in the greatest degree a man of sense (for such he was) could be; and therefore the judgment of neither of them is much to be regarded. I will give the sentiments of a clergyman, zealous enough for the church; and a statesman, who cannot be thought partial to the puritans, when 'tis known that he most zealously promoted the *occasional conformity*, and *schism bills*.

“ Had there not been too stiff an adherence (says the
“ reverend writer) to some few things at this confer-
“ ence at *Hampton-Court*, which, without danger,
“ might have been altered, had not the bishops then
“ had such an ascendant throughout the whole con-
“ ference over the king, which he was well pleased
“ withal, having by the contrary party in *Scotland*
“ been so roughly handled all his time; I say, certainly
“ that conference had terminated in a great advantage
“ to the church of *England*; for the puritan party was
“ not so numerous, nor consequently so strong as after-
“ wards; nor yet their disaffections so great as they
“ have been since, a very little and easy condescension
“ had spoiled the market of the designing men, both
“ gentry and ministers too (a).” — “ Learning, says
“ the other writer, was the part upon which *James* va-
“ lued himself; this he affected more than became a
“ king, and broached, on every occasion, in such a
“ manner as would have misbecome a schoolmaster.
“ His pedantry was too much even for the age in which
“ he lived. It would be tedious to quote the part he
“ took in the conference at *Hampton-Court*. — Let us
“ only observe that the *ridicule* which arose from hence,
“ and which fixed on him was just, because the merit
“ of a chief governor is wisely to superintend the
“ *whole*, and not to shine in any inferior class, because
“ different, and in some cases perhaps, opposite talents,
“ both

(a) A vindication of their majesties wisdom in the nomination to the vacant bishopricks, p. 7. 4to. Lond. 1691.

was that most detestable conspiracy against the

“ both natural and acquired, are necessary to move, and
 “ to regulate the movements of the *machine* of govern-
 “ ment; in short, because as a good *adjutant* may make
 “ a very bad *general*; so a great reader, and a writer
 “ too, may be a very ignorant king (b).” And in an- (b) Old-
 other place the same fine writer observes, “ that in haste castle’s re-
 “ to shew his parts, he had a conference between the marks, p.
 “ bishops and the puritan ministers at *Hampton-Court*, 237.
 “ where he made himself a principal party in the dis-
 “ pute.——But surely such a conference, however it
 “ might frighten and silence, could neither instruct nor
 “ persuade, and the king was so far from trusting, like
 “ his predecessor, to the *force of truth and aid of time*,
 “ that in this very conference he threatened to employ
 “ another kind of force, if he did not meet with
 “ compliance in a time to be limited. The bishops
 “ were at first to admonish paternally, and to confer a-
 “ micably; but lest they should not succeed by preach-
 “ ing, writing, living men into conformity, (the sole
 “ means they ought to desire, or, if they desired o-
 “ thers, the sole means they ought to be suffered to em-
 “ ploy) they were to have recourse to compulsion after-
 “ wards.——On these principles he proceeded, and the
 “ consequence of this conduct was, that those *sects*
 “ who were not dangerous at first, became so at last.
 “ They became so, in some degree, from the very mo-
 “ ment the declarations we have mentioned were made;
 “ for nothing is found more true in nature and experi-
 “ ence than this, that they who are oppressed by go-
 “ vernments, will endeavour to change them; and
 “ that he who makes himself terrible to multitudes,
 “ will have multitudes to fear (c).”——“ If those of (c) Id. p.
 “ them [the puritans] who were friends to order, had 278, 279.
 “ been once incorporated with the *established church*,
 “ the remaining *sectaries* would have been but of little
 “ moment, either for numbers or reputation; and the
 “ very means which were proper to gain these, were
 “ likewise

the protestant religion, known by the name of the powder plot discovered; which, tho' disowned

“ likewise the most effectual to hinder the increase of
 “ *them*, and of the other *sectaries* in the mean time.
 “ Upon the whole matter we think it plain, that king
 “ *James* I. had an easy and secure opportunity of pre-
 “ venting any bad consequences, which might be ap-
 “ prehended from the divisions of his protestant sub-
 “ jects; and that the improvement of that opportunity
 “ consisted in giving neither alarm to the *well affected*,
 (d) *Id.* p. 217. “ nor pretence to the factious (d).” That the reader
 may the better be able to judge of the justness of these
 censures, I will add what was requested by the puritans
 at this conference: and this was,

1. That the doctrine of the church might be preserv-
 ed in purity, according to God's word.

2. That good pastors might be planted in all churches
 to preach the same.

3. That church government might be sincerely mi-
 nistred, according to God's word.

(e) Barlow, P. 149. 4. That the book of Common Prayer might be fitted
 to more increase of piety (e). This was all that was
 asked, and one would have thought, as the difference
 in doctrine was little, that it had been a very easy mat-
 ter to have reconciled things. But *James's* hatred of
 the puritans, the stiffness of the bishops, and their un-
 willingness to own any thing in the constitution of the
 hierarchy to be wrong, though seen to be such by all
 indifferent observers, hindered a coalition of parties,
 and produced the troubles and persecutions of a great
 number of honest, well-meaning men. May the same
 temper never again prevail! but may it be the ambition
 of princes and prelates, to reform whatever is amiss in
 the church; that it may be so pure and spotless that e-
 very honest and sincere christian may be looked on as a
 member of it, and entitled to all its privileges. Then
 will our church indeed be the bulwark of the reforma-
 tion, the glory of the nation, the promoter of truth
 and

disowned and disbelieved by many, yet cannot, I think, reasonably be (PP) doubted of. Every body knows, that in consequence of

and virtue. Infidelity will fail; schism and heresy, those ecclesiastical scarecrows (*f*), be no more heard of among us, but peace, unity, and love flourish and prevail among all those who profess the religion of the meek and holy *Jesus*.

(*f*) See
Hales of
Schism.

(PP) The powder plot—cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted of.] The history of this is so well known, that 'tis needless to relate it in this place. I will only observe, that the writers of the narratives of this affair, pay a compliment to *James's* understanding at the expence of truth; for it was not *he* that guessed from the expression in the letter to lord *Monteagle*, “that they should receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they should not see who hurts them.” I say, it was not he who guessed that it should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder, but the earl of *Suffolk*, lord chamberlain, and the earl of *Salisbury*, as the latter himself relates in a letter to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, dated Nov. 9, 1605. (*a*) However, the writers on this subject are excusable, having authority to rely on. For such was the flattery of *James's* courtiers, that they got it inserted into the preamble of the act for a public thanksgiving to almighty God, every year on the fifth of November, that “the conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased almighty God, by inspiring the king's most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason.” This appears to be gross flattery, and 'tis amazing how any man, who knew it to be such, could thus publicly receive it, much more the most great, learned, and religious king that ever reigned in this kingdom, as in the

(*a*) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 171.

of the discovery, several of the chief conspirators were executed, and an annual thanksgiving ordained. And in order the better

the said preamble *James* is stiled. But the drawers of this act, I dare say, knew his taste, and were willing to gratify it, though thereby they exposed him to the laughter of those who were in the secret, as great numbers must have been. However, by the way, it ought never to be permitted to recite falsehoods for truths in statutes; for these being enacted by the highest authority, the facts in them declared should be strictly true; otherwise whatever obedience may be yielded, the enactors will have little esteem or regard from the people, to whom the dealers in untruths seldom appear in an amiable light.——'Tis well known, that many of the papists then and now have denied the fact, and imputed the whole of the affair to the artifice of *Salisbury*; and we are told, that others of opposite principles have confidently asserted, “that there never was any such thing really as the gunpowder plot, but that it was a plot of king *James*'s contriving, to endear himself unto

(b) Casaubon
of credulity
and incredulity,
Vol. I. p. 202. 8vo.
Lond. 1668.

“the people (b).” But whether this is not all idle talk will appear, if we consider a few confessions of Roman catholics themselves. That worthy good-natured man, Dr. *Tillotson*, speaking of this horrid affair, says, “Sir Everard Digby, whose very original papers and letters are now in my hands, after he was in prison, and knew he must suffer, calls it the *best cause*; and was extremely troubled to hear it censured by catholics and priests, contrary to his expectation, for a great sin. Let me tell you (says he) what a grief it is, to hear *that* so much condemned which I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by catholics. And yet he concludes that letter in these words: in how full of joy should I die, if I could do any thing for the cause which I love more than my life. And in another letter he says, he could have said something to have mitigated the odium of

“this

better to secure the obedience of the catho-
 lics, the oath of allegiance (a), by authority
 of parliament, was enacted, whereby the
 power

(a) Stat. an-
 no tertio Ja-
 cobi regis, c.
 4. sect. 15.

“ this business, as to that point of involving those of
 “ his own religion in the common ruin. I dare not,
 “ says he, take that course that I could, to make it ap-
 “ pear less odious ; for divers were to have been brought
 “ out of danger, who now would rather hurt them
 “ than otherwise. I do not think that there would
 “ have been three worth the saving, that should have
 “ been lost. And as to the rest that were to have been
 “ swallowed up in that destruction, he seems not to
 “ have the least relenting in his mind about them (c).”
 Dr. Burnet tells us, he had the same papers in his pos-
 session, and gives the like account from them (d).——
 But to put the matter beyond all dispute, I will give
 part of a speech of lord *Stafford*, at the bar of the
 house of lords, Dec. 1, 1680. which, as far as I know,
 has never been quoted by any writer. Every body al-
 most knows that this unfortunate nobleman was strong-
 ly attached to the Romish religion ; and that upon the
 evidence of those times he was convicted and executed
 for the popish plot. It may well enough therefore be
 supposed, that he would not blacken his own side on
 this occasion, or endeavour to render his prosecutors
 more apprehensive of the enterprising spirit of the ca-
 tholics, than the truth compelled him to do. His evi-
 dence therefore being unexceptionable, let us attend
 unto it. “ My lords, said he, I have heard very much
 “ of a thing that was named by these gentlemen of the
 “ house of commons, and that very properly too, to
 “ wit, of the gunpowder treason. My lords, I was
 “ not born then, but some years after heard very much
 “ discourse of it, and very various reports ; and I
 “ made a particular enquiry, perhaps more than any one
 “ person did else, both of my father, who was alive
 “ then, and my uncle, and others ; and I am satisfied,
 “ and do clearly believe, by the evidence I have receiv-
 “ ed,

(c) Tillot-
 son's sermon
 before the
 house of
 commons,
 Nov. 5. 1678.
 (d) Burnet,
 Vol. I. p. 10.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

power of the pope to depose the king, or dispose of any of his majesty's dominions, was to be disowned, and true faith and allegiance

“ ed, that that thing called the gunpowder treason,
 “ was a wicked and horrid design (among the rest) of
 “ some of the jesuits, and I think the malice of the
 “ jesuits, or the wit of man, cannot offer an excuse
 “ for it, it was so execrable a thing. Besides, my
 “ lords, I was acquainted with one of them that was
 “ concerned in it, who had his pardon, and lived many
 “ years after: I discoursed with him about it, and
 “ he confessed it, and said, he was sorry for it then;
 “ and I here declare to your lordships, that I never
 “ heard any one of the church of Rome speak a good
 “ word of it: it was so horrid a thing it cannot be expressed
 “ nor excused. And God almighty shewed his
 “ judgments upon them for their wickedness; for
 “ hardly any of the persons or their posterity are left
 “ that were concerned in it; and even a very great family
 “ too [*Peircy*, earl of *Northumberland*, I suppose]
 “ that had collaterally something to do in it, is in the
 “ male line extinct totally; and I do think God almighty
 “ always shews his judgments upon such vile
 “ actions (e).” What will any one say to this? needs
 “ there any further witnesses, when a popish lord declares
 “ the thing to be fact, and that he himself was acquainted
 “ with one concerned in it, who confessed it? must
 “ not those be past conviction who will still dispute it, or
 “ obstinately deny it? I will add, that it appears from
 “ Dr. *Birch*'s view of the negotiations between England,
 “ France, and Brussels, that many catholics abroad were
 “ acquainted with it, and that the English regiment in the
 “ arch-duke's service, was designed to be transported upon
 “ the execution of it (f). Indeed, says Sir Thomas *Edmonds*,
 “ ambassador with the arch-duke, in a letter to Sir Charles
 “ *Cornwallis*, dated Dec. 27, 1605, O. S. “ It was long
 “ ere I could persuade them here to believe the truth
 “ of the said conspiracy, because the catholiques were
 “ interested

(e) Lord
 Stafford's
 trial, p. 53.
 Lond.
 1680-1. Fol.

(f) See
 Birch's ne-
 gotiations,
 p. 235, 256.

legiance to him promised, notwithstanding any excommunication or deprivation made by the pope. This oath the catholics, for the most part, complied with, as thinking it lawful, and among the rest the arch-priest
Black-

“ interested therein ; but sometimes they would have it
“ to be an artifice of the puritans against those sancti-
“ fied persons, and then a design of the Hollanders
“ (which are enemies to manarchy) to have reduced
“ our estate to the same condition as theirs is of a com-
“ monwealth. But now lastly, when they see they can
“ no longer dispute the doubtfulness and incertaintie
“ thereof, they report to this consideration, that it is a
“ work of the devil’s, expressly to banish and extirpate
“ the catholique religion out of England. For my own
“ part, adds he, I will freely confess, that I do effectually
“ desire (whatsoever judgment they make thereof)
“ that we make that use of it, as we have just cause so
“ to do (g).” These things considered, I believe the (g) Win-
reader will think with Dr. Birch, “ that the papists of wood, Vol.
“ later times afford an instance of amazing scepticism, II. p. 183.
“ and equal assurance, who affect, without the least
“ shadow of probability, to represent so complicated
“ and deep laid a conspiracy, as a meer ministerial and
“ political contrivance, formed by the earl of Salisbury,
“ for the disgrace and ruin of the *Roman* catholic re-
“ ligion in England (h).” However though their scepticism (h) Negotiations, p. 255. *

* *Calendarium Catholicum*, for the year 1686. Among the memorable observations is the following.

Since the horrid powder plot, suspected to be politickly contrived by Cecil, but known to be acted by a few desperadoes of a religion } years
that detests such treasons, though ambition and discontent made } 0081
them traytors.

Consult bishop Barlow’s genuine remains, p. 388. Lond. 1693. 8vo. where is a censure of a passage of a like nature in the *Calendarium Catholicum*, or *Universal Almanack* for the year 1662, which the bishop says, was writ by a man of some parts and quality.

Blackwell. At this the pope was alarmed, and on the 10th of the kalends of October 1606. issued out a brief, forbidding the taking the oath; but the catholics apprehending it a forgery, payed little regard to it, whereupon the next year his holiness sent them another (QQ), in which he plainly told them, that

ticism and assurance are thus amazing, yet it is not to be wondred at, that they are unwilling to avow a fact, which admitted, must cast the greatest odium on a church whose ministers not only counselled it, but were actors in it; and though by the judgment of their country pronounced conspirators and traytors, and as such treated; yet have been deemed by her infallible self, saints and martyrs, and reckoned among their miracle-workers (i). A proof this, that zeal for mother church will sanctify the greatest villanies, and raise men to the highest honours, though ever so unworthy. May all men have in abhorrence this spirit! may they guard against all attempts to revive it, and look upon it as their greatest happiness, that they are not under the rule of those, who are actuated by it.

(i) See Of-
born, p.
485.
Fuller's
church hist.
cent. 17.
book 10. p.
40. and
Winwood,
Vol. II. p.
300. *

(QQ) His holiness sent them another brief, &c.] In his first brief the pope [Paul V.] tells the English catholics, "that the *oath of allegiance* could not be taken
" without hurting the catholic faith, and the salvation
" of

* Monsieur S. *Amour* tells us, that among the several pourtraits of Jesuits, publicly sold at Rome with permission of the superiour, he saw one of *Garnet*, with this inscription, Peter Henricus Garnettus Anglus, Londini pro fide catholicâ suspensus & sectus, 3 Maii 1606. Father Henry *Garnet* hanged and quartered at London, for the catholic faith; by which we see that treason and catholic faith are all one at Rome; for nothing can be more notorious, than that *Garnet* suffered only on the account of the gunpowder treason, of which, as M. S. *Amour* observes, he acknowledged himself guilty before he died. *Stillingfleet's idolotry of the church of Rome*, p. 345. 8vo. Lond. 1676.

that they were bound fully to observe the things contained in the former, and to reject all interpretations persuading to the contrary.

Bellar-

“ of their souls, seeing it contains many things flat
 “ contrary to faith and salvation; and therefore he ad-
 “ monishes them utterly to abstain from taking this and
 “ the like oaths (a).” Mr. *Rapin* therefore should have (a) King
 said, that the pope in this first brief, plainly told the James’s
 catholics, “ if they took the oath they forfeited all hopes works, p.
 “ of salvation (b): I say, he should have said this of the 251.
 first, and not the second brief, as he has done; though (b) Rapin,
 forfeiting all hopes of salvation, is very different, in my Vol. II. p.
 opinion, from hurting the salvation of their souls, which 174.
 are the words of the brief.—But his holiness’s com-
 mands were not obeyed. The catholics pretended that
 “ his brief was issued not of his own proper will, but
 “ rather for the respect and instigation of other men.”
 This he assures them was false in his second brief, dated
 the 10th of the Calends of Sept. 1607. and lets them
 know “ that his former letters concerning the prohibi-
 “ tion of the oath, were written not only upon his
 “ own proper motion, and of his certain knowledge,
 “ but also after long and weighty deliberation used con-
 “ cerning all those things which were contained in
 “ them; and that for that cause they were bound fully
 “ to observe them, rejecting all interpretation per-
 “ suading to the contrary (c).” Strange sort of mor- (c) King
 tals these popes! who pretending to be vicars of Jesus James’s
 Christ, who owned his kingdom was not of this world, works, p.
 intrude into the affairs of foreign nations, and prescribe 258.
 laws to the subjects of them. This *Paul V.* was pos-
 sessed of the true spirit of *Hildebrand*. He laid the Ve-
 netians under an interdict, raised *Ignatius Loyola* to be a
 saint, and talked and acted in such a manner, as if he
 had indeed thought himself superior to all that “ is cal-
 “ led God, or is worshipped.” And had he happened
 to have lived in those ages, when the spirit of croisading
 for the sake of what was called religion, prevailed, I

H

doubt

Bellarmino also writ a letter to *Blackwell*, against the oath, and exhorted him to repair the fault he had committed, by taking of it, even though (R R) death should be the consequence.

doubt not but he would have made as vile work as the worst, and most enterprizing of his predecessors. But the times in which he lived permitted him not to act agreeably to his wishes. Princes had more wisdom than to become his dupes, and excommunications were of little significancy, for learning and good sense now began to prevail, and where these are, ecclesiastical authority will be little regarded. However, this pope, we see, talked big; his briefs have an air of authority, and he did what in him lay to dispose the English catholics to behave contrary to their own interest and the laws of their country, and consequently to keep up a party dependent on himself, and subservient to his will, a thing of the worst consequence, and therefore loudly complained of by *James*, as we shall soon see.

(R R) *Bellarmino* also writ a letter to *Blackwell* against the oath, &c.] This letter begins with remembering *Blackwell* of the long friendship that had been between them; expresses his grief for *Blackwell*'s sufferings; but more especially for his having, as it was feared, taken the oath, which he says tends to this end, that the authority of the head of the church in England may be transferred from the successor of St. *Peter* to the successor of king *Henry VIII*. He declares that for this one head of doctrine, *Fisher* and *More* led the way to martyrdom to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. And then he concludes with desiring him "not to prefer a temporal liberty to the liberty of
 " the glory of the sons of God: neither for escaping a
 " light and momentary tribulation, lose an eternal
 " weight of glory, which tribulation itself doth work
 " in you. You have fought a good fight a long time;
 " you

quence. Hereupon *James* drew his pen, and published his apology for the oath of allegiance,

“ have well near finished your course ; so many years
 “ have you kept the faith ; do not therefore lose the re-
 “ ward of such labours ; do not deprive yourself of that
 “ crown of righteousness, which so long ago is prepa-
 “ red for you ; do not make the faces of so many yours
 “ both brethren and children, ashamed ; upon you at
 “ this time are fixed the eyes of all the church ; yea also
 “ you are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, to
 “ men ; do not so carry yourself in this your last act, that
 “ you leave nothing but laments to your friends, and
 “ joy to your enemies : but rather on the contrary,
 “ which we assuredly hope, and for which we conti-
 “ nually pour forth prayers to God, display gloriously
 “ the banner of faith, and make to rejoice the church,
 “ which you have made heavy ; so shall you not only
 “ merit pardon at God’s hands, but a crown. Fare-
 “ wel ; quit you like a man, and let your heart be
 “ strengthened. This letter is dated from Rome, Sept.
 “ 28, 1607 (a).”

Bellarmino mistook the sense of the (a) King
 oath about which he writes, as we shall see by *James’s*
 answer. But not to insist on this, for the present, I <sup>James’s
works, p.
261.</sup>
 would ask whether there is not something very odd in
 this persuading men to undergo martyrdom, when we
 ourselves are in ease, and like to continue so ? does it
 come with a good grace from the mouth of a rich car-
 dinal, who had aspired to the papacy, and even now
 enjoyed the greatest plenty of all things. When we see
 men under sufferings, triumph and rejoice in them, and
 contentedly bear them themselves, and exhort others to
 do so likewise, their exhortations will have great force
 and efficacy ; their propriety is seen and acknowledged,
 and all virtuous men are edified. But to persuade others
 to submit to what we ourselves are strangers to, and
 which, probably, we should shrink at the undergoing,
 is not quite so well in the eyes of the world. But *Bel-
 larmine* was at a distance ; *Blackwell’s* reproaches could

ance against the two briefs of pope *Paulus Quintus* (ss), and the letter of cardinal *Bel-larmine*

not have made him blush ; and so the authority of the pope was maintained, it mattered not who suffered. Modest man ! good friend ! happy for him to whom he writ, that he knew what was right, and for his own interest, or else probably tribulation would have been his portion.——One would be apt to wonder how it comes to pass, that those men who were so forward to send others on dangerous expeditions, to promote the interest of the church, and make men proselytes among infidels and heretics, and encourage them so much with the prospects of the highest rewards hereafter : I say one would be apt to wonder why hardly any of these persons ever set out on these expeditions themselves, and strive to obtain those glorious crowns they set before the eyes of others. We see they chuse themselves that part of the vineyard where is the richest soil, and the least work to be done. In this they take their ease, and enjoy themselves comfortably, and never change unless it be for the better. What are we to conclude from hence ? do not they believe what they teach to others ? are they disposed to procure their own advantage by the sweat, labour, and blood of the honest, the simple, the credulous ? the unbelieving race would say so ; and those who belong not to that tribe of men, would yet be glad to know how, on this head, to confute them.

(ss) *James* published his apology for the oath of allegiance against the two briefs, &c.] Take the following account of the occasion of this apology from bishop *Mountague*, *James's* prefacer. “ After the pope had put
“ forth his briefs, and the cardinal had sent his letters to
“ the arch-priest ; the one to enjoin the people not to
“ take the oath of allegiance, affirming that they could
“ not take it with safety of their salvation : the other
“ to reprove the arch-priest for that he had taken it, and
“ to

larmine to G. Blackwell the arch-priest.
Though

“ to draw him to a penitency for so foul a lapse. His
“ majesty, like as became a prudent and religious prince,
“ thought it not meet, that these things should pass for
“ current, but that it was expedient his people should
“ know, that the taking this oath was so far from en-
“ dangering their souls, as that it intended nothing but
“ civil obedience, and without touching any point of
“ their conscience, made the state secure of their alle-
“ giance. To perform this work, his majesty thought
“ the bishop of *Winchester* * [Dr. *Bilson*, if I rightly
“ remember] that then was, a very fit man, both for his
“ singular learning, as for that he had long laboured in
“ an argument, not much of a diverse nature from
“ this; whereupon his majesty calling for pen and ink,
“ to give my lord of *Winchester* directions how and in
“ what manner to proceed in this argument, I know
“ not how it came to pass, but it fell out true that the
“ poet saith,

“ ————— *Amphora cœpit*
“ *Institui, currente rota, post urceus exit.*

“ for the king’s pen ran so fast, that in the compass of
“ six days, his majesty had accomplished that which
“ he now calleth his apology; which when my lord of
“ *Canterbury* [*Bancroft*] that then was, and my lord of
“ *Ely* [*Andrews*] had perused, being indeed delivered by
“ his majesty but as brief notes, and in the nature of a
H 3 “ minute

* This bishop was Dr. T. Bilson, who was advanced to that see in 1597, and died in 1616. The book of his referred to by bishop Montague, was probably that printed at Oxford 1585. in 4to, and intitled, *The true difference betweene christian subjection and antichristian rebellion; wherein the princes lawfull power and command for trueth, and indeprivable right to beare the sword are defended against the pope’s censures, and the jesuits sophismes uttered in their apologie and defence of English catholikes with a demonstration, that the things reformed in the church of England by the lawes of this realme are truly catholike, notwithstanding the vaine shew made to the contrary in their late Rhemish Testament, by Thomas Bilson, warden of Winchester. Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.*

Though *James* had not set his name to this piece,

(a) Preface to
King James's
works.

“ minute to be explicated by the bishops in a larger vo-
“ lume; yet they thought it so sufficient an answer
“ both to the pope and cardinal, as there needed no o-
“ ther. Whereupon his majesty was persuaded to give
“ way to the coming of it forth, but was pleased to
“ conceal his name; and so have we the apology be-
“ yond his majesty's own purpose or determination (a).”

The reader is welcome to believe as much or as little of all this as he pleases. For my own part, I doubt not, but *James* was well enough pleased to engage in a controversy in which he was almost sure of success. For the pope, with all his infallibility, had urged nothing material against the oath of allegiance, and the cardinal had quite mistook the sense of it; as every one upon comparing the briefs of the one, and the letter of the other with the oath, will plainly see, as *James* in this piece has fully shewn. Indeed all objections of the latter are pointed against the oath of supremacy, which is a very different thing from the oath of allegiance. In this piece *James*, after mentioning the powder plot, takes notice of the intention of the oath, which he says, “ was specially to make a separation between so
“ many of his subjects, who although popishly affect-
“ ed, yet retained in their hearts the prints of their
“ natural duty to their sovereign; and those who being
“ carried away with the like fanatical zeal that the
“ powder-traytors were, could not contain themselves
“ within the bounds of their natural allegiance, but
“ thought diversity of religion a safe pretext for all
“ kinds of treasons and rebellions against their sove-
“ reign (b).” He then mentions the good effects the oath had produced; the mischiefs of the pope's briefs; the incivility of the pope in condemning him unheard; and after that proceeds to a formal examination of them. In this part of his work he sets forth his great favour to the catholics, in admitting them to his presence, dubbing many of them knights, freeing recusants from their

(b) King
James's
works, p.
243.

piece, no one doubted but he was the author of it. It remained not long without replies (TT), containing such things as highly

their ordinary payments, and bestowing favours and honours equally on them with the protestants. He then formally enters into the discussion of the pope's briefs, and by scripture, fathers, and councils, attempts to confute them. He proceeds to attack *Bellarmino*; and shews that he had mistook the oath of supremacy for the oath of allegiance, and on this mistake had proceeded in his letter to *Blackwell*. He asserts the oath of allegiance to be confirmed by the authority of antient councils; shews that no decision of any point of religion is contained in it; that *Bellarmino* had contradicted his former writings; and that his authorities from the fathers were insufficient. This is the substance of this apology, in which, though there is nothing in it of great merit, we may justly say *James* came off conqueror. However, we may remark, that though his favours to the catholics might manifest them guilty of ingratitude towards him, yet could they be no great recommendation of him to his protestant subjects. They shewed an indifferency with respect to the two religions, which, I suppose, was not so well digested by them. But *James* was not one of those who foresaw consequences. What made for his present purpose he caught hold of, without reflecting that one day or other it might be made to serve against himself, An imprudence which controvertists frequently are guilty of. The least shadow of an argument they make use of; weaken, or endeavour to invalidate the most important doctrines which at any time stand in their way; and blab out those things which it is most their interest to conceal, and which hereafter they bitterly repent of, when they find the uses made of them by able or artful opponents.

(TT) It remained not long without replies, containing such things as highly displeased him.] Tho' *James's*
H 4 name

ly displeased him. Whereupon he writ his pre-

(a) Works,
p. 290.

(b) Wood's
Arhenæ Ox-
onienses,
Vol. I. c.
362.

(c) King
James's
works, p.
294.

(d) Calder-
wood, p. 607.
See the let-
ter itself in
the same
writer, p.
427. It is
addressed to
the pope ;
but there are
instructions
afterwards
added, for
applying to
the cardinals.
See also
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p. 162.

name was not prefixed to the first edition of his apology, yet he made presents of it to the foreign ambassadors in his own name, and his arms were put in the frontispiece thereof, as himself tells us (a). This was sufficient to put the author out of doubt. But notwithstanding his adversaries treated him without ceremony. The famous Robert *Parsons* began the attack, in a book called the Judgment of a Catholic Gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance. Qu. S. Omers, 1608. (b) — *Bellarmino* continued it, under the feigned name of *Mattheus Tortus*, and gave his majesty the lye in exprefs terms, and seven times charged him with falshood, which was thought by him equivalent to a lye (c). The king is here told, that pope *Clement* thought him to be inclined to their religion; that he was a puritan in Scotland, and a persecutor of the protestants; that he was a heretic and no christian. His majesty was also let know, "that some
" of his officers of estate put the pope and cardinals in
" hope that he would profess himself a catholic, when
" he came to the crown of England; yea, that he him-
" self had written letters full of courtesie to the two
" cardinals *Aldo-brandina* and *Bellarmino*, wherein he
" craved, that one of the Scottish nation might be cre-
" ated cardinal; that by him, as an agent, he might
" the more easily and safely do his business with the
" pope (d)" — This must have vexed *James* pretty
much, I suppose, as the reader, by comparing what is
contained in notes (H) and (N), will be apt to think
there was some truth in it. A third answerer of this a-
pology was *Francis Suanex*, well known in the learned
world. Sir *Henry Saville*, whose edition of *St. Chry-*
soptom has perpetuated his fame, being prevailed on, I
know not by what motive, to help translate *James's* book
into Latin; it soon got to Rome; from thence *Suarez*
was commanded to answer it, who performing his task,
it was published, and as soon as the copies came into
England,

premonition (u u) to all most mighty monarchs,

England, one of them was burnt (e).——Nicolaus (e) Wood, *Cœffetau*, bishop of *Dardanie*, preacher to *Henry IV.* Vol. I. c. 468. of France, answered *James*, as is said, very moderately and modestly. “But the king was nothing pleased with his fawning, nor took it in better part than if (as he said) he should have bid a t—d in his teeth, and then cry Sir reverence (f).” Let us observe here (f) Win- by the way, a mistake of Mr. *Perrault*, in speaking of *Cœffeteau*, says he, “the king (*Henry the great*) committed to him, at the solicitation of *Perron*, the answering of the king of England’s book on the eucharist, which he did with a great deal of cogency.” (g) Now *James* never writ on the eucharist. The book (g) *Cœffeteau* answered, was his apology; consequently *Perrault* is mistaken. Nor can I persuade myself he speaks truly, when he says, the then French king committed to him the answering *James*’s book. The doctrine contained in it could not be displeasing to *Henry*, and I believe he would have been sorry it should have been subverted. I know of no more answers to *James*’s apology; and whether I am as exact as I should be in my account of these, I cannot well determine; being far removed from libraries, from which help might be expected (h). (g) Characters historical and penegy- rical, Vol. II. p. 11. 8vo. Lond. 1705. (h) Vid. Appendix.

(u u) Whereupon he writ his premonition to all most mighty monarchs, &c.] “After the apology was out, says Dr. *Mountague*, his majesty divers times would be pleased to utter a resolution of his, that if the pope and cardinal would not rest in his answer, and sit down by it, take the oath as it was intended for a point of allegiance and civil obedience, he would publish the apology in his own name, with a preface to all the princes in Christendom; wherein he would publish such a confession of his faith, persuade the princes so to vindicate their own power, discover so much of the mystery of iniquity unto them, as the “ pope’s

narchs, kings, free princes, and states of Christen-

(a) Preface
to James's
works.

(b) James's
works, p.
288.

(c) Id. p. 289.

(d) Id. p. 293.

“ pope's *bulls* should pull in their horns, and himself
 “ with he had never meddled with this matter. The
 “ cardinal contending against the apology, his majesty
 “ confirmed his resolution, and with the like celerity in
 “ the compass of one week, wrote his monitory pre-
 “ face; and being so written, published it and the apo-
 “ logy in his own name, and made good his word, sent
 “ it to the emperor, and all the kings and free princes
 “ in Christendom (a).” Great dispatch this! but as we
 have a bishop's word for it, we cannot refuse to sub-
 scribe to the truth of it. In his dedication to the em-
 peror *Rodolph II.* and the princes and states of Christen-
 dom, he styles himself professor, maintainer, and de-
 fender of the true, christian, catholic, and apostolic
 faith, professed by the antient and primitive church,
 and sealed with the blood of so many holy bishops, and
 other faithful crowned with the glory of martyrdom (b).
 —He then in a particular manner addresses himself
 unto them, and tells them, “ that the cause in which
 “ he is engaged is general, and concerneth the autho-
 “ rity and privilege of kings in general, and all su-
 “ per-eminent temporal powers (c).” He proceeds to
 give reasons for printing the apology without his name;
 shews why he thought now proper to avow it, and
 goes on to shew the occasion of it. He lets them know,
 that the publishing his book had brought such two an-
 swers, or rather railers, upon him, as all the world
 might wonder at. He then falls foul on *Parsons*, for
 whom he says a rope is the fittest answer; and proceeds
 to *Mattheus Tortus*, who called himself *Bellarmino's*
 chaplain. “ An obscure author, says he, utterly un-
 “ known to me, being yet little known to the world
 “ for any other of his works; and therefore must be a
 “ very desperate fellow in beginning his *apprentisage*,
 “ not only to refute, but to rail upon a king (d).” One
 would think by this *James* knew not that in the repub-
 lic of letters no man holds any other rank than what he
 can

Christendom, published it, and the apology
in

can procure by his own industry and abilities. For which reason if the greatest prince commences a member of it, he is to expect, in justice, no other regard than what his fellow-members shall judge he really merits. If he would not be treated like an author, he should not commence author. The moment he acts publicly in that character, he is liable to be refuted, ridiculed, or exposed; nor has he any body but himself to thank for it. —But let us go on with our subject. *James*, from some passages, concludes that *Bellarmino* was his real answerer, under the feigned name of *Tortus*, and as such he speaks of him. After mentioning the epithets bestowed on himself by his answerer, he asks the princes whether this be mannerly dealing with a king? and he doubts not but that they will resent such indignities done to one of their quality. He then shews the insufficiency of the cardinal's reply to his apology, aggravates the power he gives to the popes, shews that they formerly were in subjection to christian emperors, and that their assent was necessary to their elections, and that they had been deposed by them. Kings also, he says, have denied the temporal superiority of the popes, more especially his own predecessors. Apostate he shews he is none, and heretic that he cannot be, as believing all the three creeds, and as "acknowledging for orthodox all those other forms of creeds, that either were devised by councils or particular fathers, against such particular heresies as most reigned in their times (*e*)."
He then (*e*) Works, gives a long-winded confession of faith, with reasons, p. 302. such as they are, of his belief; and afterwards spends no less than twenty folio pages on the subject of *Antichrist*, which he thus concludes, "Thus has the cardinals shameless wresting two of those places of scripture, *pasce oves meas, & tibi dabo claves*, for proving the pope's temporal authority over princes, animated me to prove the pope to be the antichrist out of the book of scripture; so to pay him his own money again. And
" this

in his own name, and sent it to the emperor,
and

“ this opinion no pope can ever make me to recant,
“ except they first renounce any farther meddling with
“ princes, in any thing belonging to their temporal ju-
(f) Works, “ risdiction (f).” Returning then to *Bellarmino's* re-
p. 328. ply, he complains loudly of the lies contained in it, and
of the ill manners wherewith it abounds; and after a
great deal of heavy stuff about the powder-plot, oath of
allegiance, the villany of *Garnet*, &c. he addressees him-
self to the kings and princes, and prays God that he and
they may not suffer the incroaching Babylonian mo-
narch to gain ground upon them. It is very remark-
able, that in this answer to *Bellarmino*, contained in the
premonition, *James* takes not the least notice of the ac-
count given by him of his having formerly written to
the pope, and begged a cardinal's hat for one of his
subjects, in order that through him he might be the
more able to advance his affairs in the court of Rome.
This, I say, is remarkable, and argues in *James* a con-
viction of the truth of what was alledged against him.
Indeed, with no face could he pretend to deny it; for
'twas well known to his own and foreign ministers, that
his ambassador at the French court had frequently solli-
cited it, and thereby had reflected on his honour and
judgment (g); and that he himself had negotiated with
(g) Win- the pope by means of cardinal *Aldo-brandini*, in order,
wood's me- as was thought, to his becoming catholic (h). He had
morials, Vol. I. p. not the face therefore to deny, in a work addressed to
388. foreigners, a fact which could so easily have been made
(h) Birch's good against him. However, in order to amuse his own
negotiations, subjects, he pretended the letter written to the pope,
p. 38. produced in this controversy, was surreptitiously ob-
tained by lord *Balmerino*; and accordingly that lord,
(i) See Cal- following the direction in all things of lord *Dunbar* (i),
derwood, p. after having confessed that he himself drew the letter
604. and without his majesty's knowledge or consent, and got
Spotswood, him ignorantly to sign it, had sentence of death passed
p. 507. on him for this his action. No doubt of it, *James*
thought

and princes, to whom it was addressed. The prefacer of his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premonition (xx), but, if we deal impartially, we must

thought hereby to have cleared himself in the eyes of his subjects of all correspondence with the pope. "But when *Balmerino* was presently pardoned, and, after a short confinement, restored to his liberty: all men says *Burnet*, believed that the king knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the king's favouring popery, which still hung upon him, notwithstanding his writing on the Revelations, and his affecting to enter on all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the pope was anti-christ (k)."——So that his artifice was of no avail, the covering was too thin; and all who had eyes must see that there was but too much truth in what had been said concerning him. Such are the effects of dissimulation! whereas honesty, integrity, and fair-dealing, appear openly and above-board, and always on examination are honourable to those by whom they are practised, and generally profitable.

(k) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 6.

(xx) The prefacer to his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premonition.] He observes, "that upon the coming forth of that book, there were no states that disavowed the doctrine of it in the point of the king's power; and the *Venetians* maintained it in their writings, and put it in execution; the *Sorbons* maintained it likewise in France."

2dly, "That their own writers that opposed it, so overlashed, as they were corrected and castigated by men of their own religion."

3dly,

must acknowledge that it met but with a very

3dly, "That his majesty's confession of faith had been so generally approved, as that it had converted many of their party; and that had it not been for the treatise of antichrist, he had been informed many more would easily have been induced to subscribe to all in that preface."

4thly, "That kings and princes had by his majesty's premonition a more clear insight, and a more perfect discovery, into the injury offered to them by the pope in the point of their temporal power, than ever they had, insomuch as that point was never so thoroughly disputed in Christendom, as it had been by the occasion of his majesty's book."

Lastly, "That for the point of antichrist, he had heard many confess, that they never saw so much light given into it, as they had done by this performance." So that, adds he, "though controversies be fitter subjects for scholars ordinarily, than for kings, yet when there was such a necessity in undertaking, and such a success being performed, I leave it to the world to judge, whether there was not a special hand in it of God or no (a)."

(a) Preface
to James's
works.

And I will leave the world to judge of the gross flattery, not to say impiety, of this prelate in talking after this rate. What! must we attribute the squabbles of pedants to God? must his hand be concerned in ushering into the world the dull heavy performance of a king? far be such thoughts from us! when God acts, he acts like himself; all is wise, good, and successful: nor can we more dishonour him than by calling him in as an encourager or assister of our whims and extravagancies. But this bishop had no sense of propriety; as long as he could praise he was satisfied, let it be in ever

very indifferent reception abroad, especially from

so wrong a place; by which his own character suffered, and his master was despised.

'Tis pleasant enough, however, to see such effects attributed to this work of *James's*. The Venetians, upon the coming out of this book, maintained the doctrine of the supream power of temporals in princes and free states. 'Tis true they did; and they had done it before ever *James* had put pen to paper on this subject; for the quarrel with the pope, which produced the interdict, arose from thence: now this commenced anno 1606, and *James's* apology was not printed till the year 1609, and consequently neither it nor the premonition which came after it, could be the cause of their holding this doctrine (b). As to the Sorbonne, ever since the extinction of the civil wars in France, they had taught it; nor could be expected any sovereign state would disavow it: so that whatever the bishop might say, 'tis certain nothing this way was produced. As for *James's* adversaries being opposed by men of their own religion, 'tis not to be wondered at. There are every where men who love controversy, and therefore that will oppose, if only for a shew of their parts and learning. How many were converted by his majesty's confession of faith I cannot say, I remember to have read but of one, the archbishop of *Spalato* (c); but I know very well that within a few years of this controversy, great numbers of the British protestant subjects revolted to the Romish communion, none of which, I believe, were induced to return by this performance.——If many were converted by it, why had they not been pointed out? we know *Wadsworth*, chaplain to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, ambassador in Spain, was reconciled to the church of *Rome*, and several of the said Sir Charles's kinsmen (d): We know likewise that *Toby Matthews* (afterwards Sir Toby) son to the archbishop of York, went over to it likewise (e); but their return is never mentioned, nor are there any con-

versions

(b) Father Paul's life, by Lockman, prefixed to his treatise of ecclesiastical benefices, p. 48. 8vo. Lond. 1736. and Birch's negotiations, p. 298.

(c) Frankland's annals, p. 27.

(d) Winwood, Vol. II. p. 131, 136, 260, 295, 441.

(e) Cabala, p. 56. Fol. Lond. 1663.

from most of the princes and states to whom it was addressed (yy); though there were not

versions by means of his majesty's book, except that one I have spoke of, recorded, and which, if true, was of no consequence: for it is well known that *Spalaflo* went off from the protestants, and came to a most unhappy end at Rome: so that the bishop has been very unhappy in his assertions with respect to the consequences of the premonition, and cannot but be put down as an inventor. As to the fourth and last things mentioned as following from this book, I have nothing to say to them: they are before the reader, and he may view them in what light he pleases.

(yy) It met with but a very indifferent reception abroad, &c.] Let us hear a zealous hugonot: "This work [the apology and premonition prefixed] served for no more than to shew the little account the catholics made of the author. It was not looked upon in *Spain*; 'twas burnt in *Florence*; the inquisition at *Rome* put it in the number of prohibited books; 'twas ill received in *France* by the catholics, and the king forbad it should be translated or printed. 'Twas only at *Venice* where the reading of it was not prohibited (a)." There is some truth in this, tho' the account given is not very exact. Let us correct it as well as we can from *Winwood's* state papers. Lord *Salisbury*, in a letter to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, dated June 8, 1609, tells him that "his majesty had thought fit to send his book to the *Emperor*, to the *French* king, who hath received it, and all other christian kings and princes, as a matter which jointly concerns their absolute jurisdiction and temporalities (b)." But though it was sent to all other christian kings and princes, it was not received by them. The *arch-dukes* would not accept of it (c); and even the state of *Venice*, "after they had received the king's books, they did by public ordinance forbid the publishing of the same; which (says Sir

(a) History of the edict of Nantes, Vol. I. p. 451. 4to. Lond. 1694.

(b) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 51.

(c) Id. p. 68.

not wanting those at home who applauded and defended it.

Arminius

“ Sir Thomas *Edmondes*) Sir Henry *Wootton* took so tenderly, as thereupon he charged them with the breach
 “ of their amity with his majesty, and declared unto
 “ them that in respect thereof he could not longer exercise his charge of a public minister among them.
 “ This protestation of his was found so strange by that
 “ state, as they sent hither (d) in great diligence to understand whether his majesty would avow him therein, which did very much trouble them here to make
 “ a cleanly answer thereunto, for the salving the ambassador’s credit, who is censured to have prosecuted
 “ the matter to an over great extremity (e).” This must have been a great mortification to *James*, had he had much sensibility of temper; but yet, even this was nothing to the slight which was put upon his piece by the *Spaniards*; for it was no sooner known in *Spain* that *James* was about to write against the pope, than the secretary of state sent word to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, “ that the king his master did much grieve at it, and marvelled that the king of Great Britain (the pope in no sort meddling with him) would put his own hand into such a business (f).” But though the ministers of state in England knew this, yet, when Sir Charles *Cornwallis* received his majesty’s letter of revocation, “ he also received a book of his majesty’s, together with a letter to the king of Spain. But for fear of an indifferent reception, or rather a refusal of both the one and the other, he was ordered by lord *Salisbury*, from the king, to “ present the letter and the book to the king of *Spain* himself, as speedily and conveniently as might be, without giving any foreknowledge that he was to present any such matter; for which purpose, adds his lordship, the letter for your revocation may serve you for a good pretext of access (g).” They saw there was need of dexterity to get the book accepted; indeed they could not help it;

(d) This is written from London, Oct. 4. 1609.

(e) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 77, 78.

(f) Id. Vol. II. p. 486.

(g) Id. Vol. III. p. 51.

Arminius dying Oct. 19, 1609. *Conrad Vorstius* was invited to succeed him in his professor's chair of divinity at Leydon: after a year's deliberation he accepted of it. But *James*, in the mean time, having seen some of his writings, sent orders to his ambassador,

(b) Win-
wood, Vol.
III. p. 55.

it; for the Spanish ambassador at London had refused the book, when sent him by the lord treasurer (b); and what he had done, it was to be feared, his master would do. And so it fell out; for just before Sir Charles had his last audience of the king of Spain, the duke of *Lerma* let him know plainly, that he was informed that he intended at his taking leave of his master, to present his Britannic majesty's book to him; that he was surprised that it could be imagined it would be received; and therefore gave him fair warning to forbear presenting the book, "whereby, said he, might be avoided a refusal that would be so unpleasing to the one to give, and so distasteful to the other to receive." *Cornwallis* replied to *Lerma* with zeal and understanding; but 'twas all in vain: he was told positively, "the king of Spain would never receive, much less give reading to any book containing matter derogatory to his religion and obedience to the see of Rome." This silenced him; he took his leave of the Spanish king, and

(i) Id. p. 67,
68.

was obliged to carry back the book with him (i). What an affront this! how provoking to one so full of his own abilities as *James*! he thought, doubtless, that his fellow kings with attention would have read his works, applauded his talents, and magnified his art and dexterity in controversy. But he was mistaken, few foreigners spoke well of his writings, and we see with what contempt he was treated by some of those to whom his book was addressed. However his flatterers at home kept up his spirits. Most wise, most learned, most understanding were the epithets bestowed on him by the designing courtiers, and aspiring clergy. These he was so

dor, Sir Ralph *Winwood*, in Holland, to represent the vileness of his doctrines; and desire that he might not be admitted to his place. The states returning an answer not satisfactory, he renewed his application; and in order the more effectually to exclude *Vorstius*

so long used to hear, that 'tis not improbable he might come at length to think he deserved them. It would be useless to take notice of the several writers of the English nation who appeared in defence of *James* against his adversaries. Their names may be seen in *Ful-ler* (k); but for their works they are almost out of remembrance long ago, the reverends and right reverends, by cruel fate, were doomed to be

(k) Church history, cent. 17. book 10. p. 43.

Martyrs of pies, and reliques of the bum.

DRYDEN:

But all writings are not formed to abide any considerable space of time: and well were it for the world, if the dread of oblivion would restrain the zealot, the pedant, the half-thinker from troubling its repose by their controversies.

I will only observe before I conclude this note, that *Gaspar Scioppius*, that man of great reading and much learning, who had parts superior to most, and severity and ill manners equal to his abilities, published two pieces against *James's* apology and premonition; the one intitled *Ecclesiasticus auctoritati serenissimi D. Jacobi magnæ britannicæ regis oppositus*, printed in 1611; and the other stiled *Collyrium regium britannicæ regi graviter ex oculis laboranti muneri missum*, printed the same year. It may be supposed no great regard could be paid *James* by a writer of such a character; but it had been better for him to have used a little more decency, for he had well near lost his life by the hands of some of the English ambassadors servants at *Madrid*, for his

stius from the place to which he had been chosen, and also had accepted, he published a declaration (yy) concerning the proceedings

(l) See Bayle's dict. article Scioppius, notes (g) and (h).

want of it (l). The truth is, no men deserve punishment more than writers of *Scioppius's* temper. He railed, he reviled, he reproached, he uttered a thousand falsehoods against his adversaries, and stuck at nothing in order to defame. Men's reputations he valued not, nor cared he who was hurt by his calumnies. He deserved chastisement from the hand of the magistrate; and it would have been no more than justice to have treated him as a criminal. For there is a great deal of difference between refuting and defaming an adversary, between shewing the inconclusiveness of his reasonings, and inventing lies in order to blast his character; and I cannot help thinking that he who does the latter, ought to be looked on as a wretch who is a disgrace both to learning and humanity, and exposed to the punishment of calumniators.

(a) James's works, p. 348.

(yy) He published a declaration concerning the proceedings in the cause of *Vorstius*.] This declaration is “ dedicated and consecrated to the honour of our Lord “ and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΣ, mediator and “ reconciler of mankind, in sign of thankfulness, by “ his most humble, and most obliged servant, James, “ &c.” If this dedication be thought extraordinary, the declaration itself will be judged more so; for he declares it to be the duty of a christian king to extirpate heresies; professes that 'tis zeal for the glory of God which alone induces him to move for the banishment of *Vorstius*, whom he styles a wretched heretic, or rather atheist, out of the State's dominions; and then goes on to give an account of what he had done in that affair. He gives us a copy of his first letter to Sir Ralph *Winwood*, in which he orders him to tell the States, that “ there had lately come to his hands a piece of “ work

ings with the states general of the united provinces of the Low Countries in the cause of D. Conradus Vorstius, in which, among other

“ work of one *Vorstius*, a divine in those parts, where-
 “ in he had published such monstrous blasphemies, and
 “ horrible atheism, as he held not only the book wor-
 “ thy to be burnt, but even the author himself to be
 “ most severely punished;” and withal he commands
 him to “ let them know how infinitely he shall be
 “ displeased if such a monster receive advancement in
 “ the church; and that if they continue their resolu-
 “ tion to advance him, he will make known to the
 “ world in print how much he detested such abomi-
 “ nable heresies, and all allowers and tollerators of
 “ them;” and that the states might not want proper
 information, he sent a catalogue of his damnable posi-
 tions (b).——But the states were not so furious as (b) Works,
James; they had more knowledge, and consequently p. 350.
 more discretion. All the answer he could get amounted
 to no more than a representation of the good character
 of *Vorstius*, his great abilities, the reasonableness of al-
 lowing him to defend himself against his adversaries,
 and an assurance that if upon examination he should
 be found guilty, he should not be admitted to the
 professor’s place (c). Before the receipt of this an- (c) Id. p:
 swer *James* was determined to shew his zeal, and ma- 352, 353.
 nifest his indignation against the heretic. He ordered
 his books to be burnt in St. Paul’s church-yard, and
 both the universities; by this means confuting them in
 the shortest manner. But he stopt not here; he renew-
 ed his instances to the states for the setting aside *Vorstius*,
 and again represented his execrable blasphemies, and as-
 sures them never any heretic better deserved to be burnt
 than he; and lest they should hearken to his denials of
 what was charged on him, he asks them, “ what will
 “ not he deny, that denieth the eternity and omnipo-
 “ tency of God.” He concludes with threatening them
 “ that if they should fail of that which he expected at
 “ their

The LIFE of JAMES I.

other things, he declares, that only for the title of one of his books, viz. de feliatione Christi

(d) Works,
p. 356.

(e) See Dupin's hist. of ecclesiastical writers, Vol. I. p. 92. Fol. Lond. 1692.

“ their hands, and suffer such pestilent heretics to nestle
 “ among them, he should depart and separate himself
 “ from such false and heretical churches, and also exhort
 “ all other reformed churches to join with him in a common council, how to extinguish and remand to hell
 “ those abominable heretics (d).” — But notwithstanding these threatnings, *Vorstius* came to *Leyden*. This caused *Winwood* to present himself before the States, who in a set speech backed his master's letters, and gave in a catalogue of *Vorstius's* errors. But the States answered coldly, and nothing to *James's* expectation. *Winwood* therefore, according to his orders, protested against the States receiving *Vorstius*; and at length an answer was given by them more satisfactory to *James*. This pleased him, but still in his writings he went on to expose the professor, and entered into a very tedious and insipid reply to his apology for his writings. — This was the treatment which a man of piety, parts, and learning met with from *James*, upon account of some metaphysical reasonings on the nature and attributes of God, and an error which he held with some of the fathers, concerning the corporeity of deity (e). I should not wonder to hear an inquisitor talk after the manner he did; it would only be in the way of his profession. But, I own, I can hardly tell how to bear such language from a professed protestant, and a temporal prince. And it excites my indignation to behold a man who made no scruple of breaking the laws of the gospel, and living in defiance of God himself, by acting counter to his commands: I say it fills me with indignation to hear such a one making a loud cry about heresy, and stirring up men to punish it. But thus it has been, thus, perhaps, it always will be. The greatest persecutors have been some of the most wicked and abandoned of men. Without a sense of God, or religion on their minds, they have pretended to be actuated by a great zeal for them; and

Christi, an author so suspected as he, is worthy of the faggot; and that if he had been his

and covered with this pretence they have gone on, even with the applause of the superstitious and bigotted, to glut their ambition, their pride, their revenge.—

James is said to have been excited to declare against *Varstius*, by *Abbot*, archbishop of Canterbury (f); and 'tis not unlikely. Most of the ecclesiastics of that time

abounded with a fiery zeal, which frequently hurried them into actions not to be justified. But had not James had an inclination to the work, *Abbot* would not have been able to have prevailed upon him to undertake it.

He thought, doubtless, that he should acquire fresh honour by his pen; that his people would applaud his zeal, and hold in admiration his piety; and 'tis not to be doubted but many were imposed on by him. However

Sir Ralph *Winwood* did not escape censure at home, for what he had done in this affair. He had protested, as

I had just observed, against the States receiving of *Varstius*; but he added also, that he protested against the violence offered unto the alliance between his majesty and those provinces, which, said he, "being founded upon

"the preservation and maintenance of the reformed religion, you have not letted (so much as in you lies) absolutely to violate in the proceeding of this cause

"(g)."——James, when he first heard of this, said, *Winwood* hath done *secundum cor meum*: but soon afterwards he changed his note, and said "the protest was

"made at an unreasonable time, when he was to receive kindness (namely reimbursement of money) at the States hands; and so calling for the copies of his

"letters, found that the ambassador had exceeded his commission, in protesting against the alliance which should have been but against the religion (b)." This

it is to serve weak princes! they take up their resolutions without consideration, and are soon turned from them. To-day their servants are commended, to-mor-

row blamed for following their instructions. So that

(f) Abridgement of Brandt's hist. of the reformation of the Low Countries, Vol. I. p. 318. 8vo. Lond. 1725. and Winwood, Vol. III. p. 296.

(g) King James's works, p. 363.

(b) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 319.

his own subject, he would have forced him to have confessed those wicked heresies that were rooted in his heart; and I doubt not but he would have been as good

as little reputation is to be got in their employment, *Winwood* received notice of this, “but the wiser part of the world (says his friend Mr. John *More* to him) considering the tenor of his majesty’s sharp letter to the States, and how often, in open discourse, he hath threatned not only to write, but to fight against them, rather than *Vorstius* should rest at *Leyden*, will more readily conclude that his majesty varieth in himself, than that you have erred (i).” At length, however, *Winwood* had the pleasure of hearing that his majesty held him in his favour, and spoke well of him; but for *Vorstius*, he was obliged, through these solicitations of *James*, to renounce provisionally his employment, and leave *Leyden*, and expect elsewhere a definitive sentence concerning this dispute. He retired to *Gouda* about May 1612, where he lived quiet till the year 1619, when he was forced to leave *Holland*; for the synod of *Dort* having declared him unworthy of the professor’s chair, the states of the province deprived him of that employment, and condemned him to a perpetual banishment (k).—So sad a thing it is for private men to have princes for their adversaries! right or wrong they must submit, and cannot make resistance. Tho’ how honourable it is for princes to attack such, the reader will determine.

I will conclude this note with observing that this declaration of *James* against *Vorstius*, was printed in French, Latin, Dutch, and English, and consequently his monstrous zeal, his unprincely revilings, and his weak and pitiful reasonings were known throughout Europe (l). But after all, I presume, it was held in small account. For Mr. *Norton*, who “had the printing of it in Latin, swore he would not print it, unless he might have money to print it (m).”

(i) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 331.

(k) *Bayle’s dictionary*, article *Vorstius* (Conrad.)

(l) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 339.
(m) *Usher’s letters*, p. 13.

as his word ; for soon after he caused two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy (zz).

'Tis

(zz) He caused two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy.] The names of these two were Bartholomew *Legate*, and Edward *Wightman*. The first of these was a man of great skill in the scriptures, and his conversation unblamable. His errors were somewhat of the same kind with those attributed to *Socinus* ; and withal he had the hardiness to say, that the *Nicene* and *Athanasian* creeds contain not a profession of the true christian faith. *James* caused him to be brought to him, and attempted his conversion ; but when he found that he was intractable, he dismissed him with a contemptuous speech ; and afterwards by the bishops being declared an incorrigible heretic, he gave orders to direct the writ de hæretico comburendo to the sheriffs of London, and in Smithfield he was burned to ashes. What *Wightman* was, or what his errors, is hard to say. The heresies of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, *Valentinian*, *Arrius*, *Macedonius*, *Simon Magus*, *Manes Manichæus*, *Photinus*, and the *Anabaptists*, were reckoned up against him in the warrant for his burning ; but, probably, he knew not what they meant thereby, any more than they themselves did who inserted them in his accusation. They were hard words, and they thought, it may be, that they would terrify and affright. However this is certain, that for his errors, whatever they were, he was burnt at Litchfield (a). These executions were in the year 1611.

James had another heretic to exercise his zeal on also ; but seeing those that suffered were much pitied, he very mercifully let him linger out his life in Newgate. Had I not reason then to say, that I doubted not *James* would have been as good as his word, in making *Vorsius* confess his heresies, had he been his subject ? I make no doubt but that he would have used his endeavours ; and if these had failed, would have treated him as bad as he did *Legate* and *Wightman*. For he had the spirit

(a) Fuller's church hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 64, 65.

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'Tis very remarkable, that in this declaration against *Vorstius*, he falls foul on the name

spirit of an inquisitor: no pity, no compassion was within him: he had no sense of the worth of those men who preferred a good conscience before all things; he thought 'twas only obstinacy in them, and therefore deemed them worthy of punishment. So easy is it for men who have no principles themselves, to censure and condemn those who are truly honest and sincere. I wish for the honour of human nature, for the honour of christianity, and the honour of the reformation, that no such instances of persecution had been to be found; but, as we cannot blot them out, we ought to set a mark on those who occasioned them, that so their names may be treated with that indignation they so justly merit.

Since the writing the above, by means of a very worthy friend, I have got sight of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation and burning of *Legate* and *Wightman*. The commissions are directed to Thomas lord *Elsmere*, chancellor of England. The warrant for the burning *Legate* is addressed to the Sheriffs of London, the other for *Wightman*, to the Sheriff of Litchfield. By the commissions the chancellor is ordered to award and make out, under the great seal of England, writs of execution; and the sheriffs by the warrant, are required to commit the heretics to the fire. The heresies of *Legate* are, (as I have represented them from *Fuller*) reckoned up as the reason for putting him to death. As for what is charged to *Wightman's* account, if it be true, (for great doubt is to be made of the truth of persecutors) he was certainly an enthusiast, but, for aught appears, a harmless one; for he is charged with holding, that "he was the prophet
" spoken of in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy in these
" words, I will rise them up a prophet, &c. and that
" this place of Isaiah, I alone have trodden the wine-
" press; and that other place, whose fan is in his hand,
" are proper and personal to him the said Edward
" *Wight-*

name of *Arminius* (AAA); and that afterwards he

“ *Wightman*. He is also accused with believing himself
 “ the comforter spoken of in St. John’s gospel, and the
 “ *Elias* to come; and that he was sent to perform his
 “ part in the work of the salvation of the world.” But
 for his holding the opinions of *Manes*, and *Manichees*,
 (as with great learning and judgment they are distin-
 guished in the warrant) and *Simon Magus*, nothing at
 all appears even from the enumeration of his adver-
 saries. So that I guessed right, that the inserting of these
 hard names was to terrify and afright (b). I will insert
 a paragraph from the warrant for the execution of *Le-*
gate, with the reader’s leave, which will shew us pretty
 much the temper of *James*, and so conclude. “ As a
 “ zealot of justice, and a defender of the catholic faith,
 “ and willing to defend and maintain the holy church,
 “ and rights and liberties of the same, and the catholic
 “ faith, and such heresies and errors every where what in
 “ us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with
 “ condign punishment such heretics so convicted, and
 “ deeming that such an heretic in form aforesaid, con-
 “ victed and condemned according to the laws and
 “ customs of this our kingdom of England, in this
 “ part occasioned, ought to be burned with fire, we
 “ do command, &c.” (c)

(b) The con-
 nexion, being
 some choice
 collections of
 some princi-
 pal matters
 in K. James’s
 reign, 8vo.
 p. 72,—90.
 Lond. 1681.

(c) Id. p. 79.

(AAA) He falls very foul on the name of *Arminius*.]
Arminius was a man of sense; he saw the consequences
 of the calvinistical doctrines, and set himself to oppose
 them; but he did it with candour and modesty. Whe-
 ther his scheme be in all parts of it defensible, or whe-
 ther he in any place has run into one extream in order
 to avoid another, and needlessly made innovations in
 the received doctrines of the reformed churches, I leave
 to divines to be considered. ’Tis sufficient here to ob-
 serve that his doctrine was received by many men of
 great understandings, and that his manners were irre-
 proachable. His memory therefore ought to have been
 dear to every good man, and his reputation should have
 remained

he contributed much to the condemnation of his followers, by sending his divines to the synod of *Dort* (BBB), where their doctrine

remained unsullied. But *James* attacked him; he calls him a "seditious and heretical preacher, an infecter of

(a) *James's* "Leyden with heresy, and an enemy of God (a);
works, "and withal he complains of his hard hap not to hear
P. 350, 354, "of him before he was dead, and that all the reform-
355. "ed churches in Germany had with open mouths

(b) *Id. ibid.* "complained of him (b)." — Hard hap indeed! to be ignorant of the sentiments of a professor of divinity, and unable to enter the lists with him; for this, probably he would have done, had he found any thing to have fastened on. — But *James's* anger against *Arminius* soon declined. Though he here branded him for an enemy to God, "yet having seen the opinion of
"his followers, and their adversaries, and the arguments by which they were supported, discussed at
"large, he tells the states general, it did not appear to
"him that either of them were inconsistent with the
"truth of the christian faith, and the salvation of
"souls (c)." This letter is dated March 6, 1613, and

(c) Abridgement of
Brandt's
hist. of the
reformation,
Vol. I. p.
325. and
Winwood,
Vol. III. p.
452.

is plainly contradictory to what I have just cited from his writings. But a contradiction was nothing to him. A man shall be an enemy to God, or the contrary, just as he takes it in his head; for 'twas a small matter with him to accuse, revile, and rail: he was a king, and he expected his word should be taken, though he rendered not a reason. However *James's* fit of good humour lasted not long, with respect to the followers of *Arminius* in Holland; they soon again were bad men, held wicked doctrines, and such as were worthy of his care to extirpate, as we shall presently see. He joined with their adversaries, and contributed to their undoing; so that he had no stability of judgment, or resolution, but was various as the wind,

(BBB) He contributed much to the condemnation of his

trine was rejected, the contrary thereunto
con-

his followers, by sending his divines to the synod of *Dort*.] The end and design of this synod was to condemn the remonstrants; it was called by their professed enemies, and composed of such as were most of all set against them. They took an oath indeed, "that in
" examining and deciding, they would use no human
" writing, but only the word of God. And that du-
" ring all their discussions, they would aim only at the
" glory of God, the peace of the church, and espec-
" ally the preservation of the purity of doctrine (a)." (a) Abridg-

But this was no guard; every thing was determined according to their preconceived opinions, and the contrary was judged false and heretical. For 'tis the manner of these assemblies to assume to themselves somewhat more wisdom than the writers of the New Testament ever pretended to. They know better how to express doctrines, how to guard against heresies, how to secure the peace of the church, and above all how to silence and convince gainsayers in the most effectual manner. But, somewhat unluckily, it has happened out, that where they have once done good, they have ten times done hurt. Where one breach in the church has been made up by them, many have been caused; and where one heresy, as 'tis called, has been suppressed, numbers have been occasioned by them. So that it would be a very difficult matter to say what good purpose they have ever answered. To the members of them, indeed, they have been useful. They have established their reputation for orthodoxy with the unthinking vulgar; given them an opportunity of gratifying their ambition and love of power; and above all of satiating their revenge on those who have eclipsed their reputation, and hindered them from making the figure they were inclined to. But too sad a truth is it, that they never have promoted peace, unity, and love among christians, or the practice of those other virtues which are so strongly incul-
cated

ment of
Brandt, Vol.
II. p. 417.

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confirmed, and they themselves stigmatized

as

(b) See Andrew Marvel's hist. essay touching general councils, creeds, &c. and Jortin's preface to his remarks on ecclesiastical history, Vol. I. p. 14.

(c) Abridgment of Brandt, Vol. II. p. 406.
(d) Hales's golden remains, p. 454. 8vo. Lond. 1687.

cated in the gospel (b). And therefore well were it for the world, if it had an assurance of their never more coming into reputation; for the mischiefs they always cause are innumerable.——No wonder then that the synod of *Dort* turned out as it did. It had been a miracle if peace had been the consequence of it. For whatever has been the pretence, I believe it hardly ever was the real end of the meetings of this sort. But let us see what hand *James* had in this synod, and how he contributed to the condemnation of the followers of *Arminius*.——The synod began to meet Nov. 13, 1618. It consisted of thirty-six ministers of the United Provinces, and five professors, together with twenty elders; to these were added twenty-eight foreign divines, among whom were the following sent by *James*, *George Carleton* bishop of *Landaff*, *Joseph Hall* dean of *Worcester*, *John Davenant* professor of divinity and master of queen's colledge at *Cambridge*, and *Samuel Ward* archdeacon of *Taunton*, head of *Sydney* colledge at *Cambridge*, and sometime after, *Walter Balcanqual*, a Scotch divine, was added to them, to represent the churches of his country (c). [The ever memorable *John Hales* also attended the synod, not as a member, but was sent by *Sir Dudley Carleton*, the English ambassador at Holland, whose chaplain he was, to give him an account of what passed in the synod (d).] These divines sent by *James* were not as furious in their behaviour towards the remonstrants, as their own countrymen; but they performed the errand for which they were sent, the condemnation of the opinions of *Arminius*, and establishment of those of *Calvin*. For this purpose these gentlemen, though one of them a bishop, and most of the other dignified in an episcopal church; these gentlemen, I say, took on them to handle the controverted points, and to engage against the errors of the *Arminians*, in a synod made up of mere presbyters, and the president of which was only one of the same character

as introductors of novelties, obstinate and dis-

racter (e). They made speeches to overthrow certain distinctions framed by the remonstrants, for the maintenance of their positions, and evasion from the remonstrants arguments (f). They differed among themselves (g), and fell into heats with some of the other members (h); but they agreed in approving the Belgic confession of faith, and the Heidelberg catechism (i). In short, they dispatched the work intended, and contributed to the woes which followed soon after upon the poor Arminians.—'Tis remarkable also that seven years did not suffice to allay the wrath of *James* against *Vorstius*: for almost at the conclusion of the synod, his clergy read an extract of that professor's errors; they called those errors blasphemies against the nature of God, and said that the sale of *Vorstius's* book should be prohibited. Lastly, they demanded that his book *de Deo* should be burned in a solemn manner; and they produced a decree of the university of *Cambridge*, by virtue of which that book had been burnt publicly (k). The effect of these representations I have mentioned in note (xx). If it be asked why the part the English clergy took in the affairs at *Dort*, is attributed to *James*? the answer is, that they themselves owned, that they had been deputed to the synod by the king, and not by the church of England (l). And so intent was he on the business of the synod, "that he commanded them " to give him a weekly account of all its memorable " passages, with the receipt of which he was highly " pleased (m)." " Yea, they were instructed at all " times to consult with the English ambassador [Sir " Dudley Carleton] who was acquainted with the form " of the Low Countries, understood well the questions " and differences amongst them, and from time to time " received *James's* princely directions (n)."—So that he was properly the actor in this place, and the condemnor of the opinions held by *the enemy of God* (o), and his followers. Whoever calls to mind the deprivations

(e) Hale's remains, p. 454.

(f) Id. p. 459.

(g) Id. p. 470.

(h) Id. p. 484, and 506.

(i) Abridgment of Brandt, Vol. II. p. 511.

(k) Id. p. 514.

(l) Id. p. 501.

(m) Fuller's church hist. cent. 17. b. 10. p. 79.

(n) Id. p. 78.

(o) See note (AAA).

disobedient, preachers of erroneous doctrine, and corruptors of religion; and as such condemned to be deprived of all ecclesiastical and academical functions.

But

tions and banishment which followed the decisions of this synod, of such great men as *Episcopius*, *Uytendogart*, *Corvinus*, &c. and the persecution which ensued throughout the United Provinces, against the Arminians, Whoever considers these, will be apt to entertain but a poor opinion of those men who were actors in it. Some of the divines might possibly mean well; but the kings, princes, and great men concerned therein, had, undoubtedly, worldly views, and were actuated by them. For though purity of doctrine, peace of the church, extirpation of heresy, were pretended, the state faction of the Arminians was to be suppressed, and that of Maurice prince of *Orange* exalted. A synod was judged necessary for these purposes, and it extremely well performed what it was intended for. The remonstrants were rendered odious to the populace; their men of parts sent into exile; their strength was exhausted; and they could no longer oppose the measures of their adversaries. — Dr. *Heylin* observes, that “ as king *James* “ had formerly aspersed the remonstrant party, so he “ continued a most bitter enemy unto them, till he had “ brought them at the last to an extirmination. But “ he seems at a loss to tell what should induce him here- “ unto. Some suppose, says he, that he was drawn in- “ to it by *Abbot* and *Mountague*; others imputed it to “ his education in the church of *Scotland*: one thought “ that he was drawn into it by his affection for prince “ *Maurice*; another that he was moved by reason of “ state, for the preventing a dangerous and incurable “ rupture, which otherwise was like to follow in the state “ of the *Netherlands*.” This last reason he thinks most probable. He afterwards adds, “ that *James* sent such “ of his divines as were most likely to be sufficiently “ active

But severe as *James* was against the Arminians abroad, he favoured them much at home (DDD), and advanced several of them to

“ active in the condemnation of the Arminians (p).” (p) Heylin's hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 402. Fol. Oxford 1670.
Reasons of state might have had some influence on *James*, though he had little knowledge of it, and generally was little influenced by it. But I fancy it was a regard to his own character which chiefly induced him to act as he did in this affair. For we have seen how he had treated the name of *Arminius*, in a writing dispersed throughout Europe. Had he failed on such an opportunity to extirpate his errors, his zeal for orthodoxy might have been thought to have been lessened, and he to have failed in that which he had declared to be the duty of a king, the extirpation of heresy.

(DDD) He favoured the Arminians much at home.] The articles of the church of England are plainly calvinistical, as will appear to every one who will read them attentively. They were “ agreed on by the archbishops “ and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, “ in the convocation holden at London, in the year “ 1562. for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and “ for the establishment of consent touching true religi- “ on (a).” The avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishment of consent, was the professed design of them, and doubtless the compilers of them imagined that they should effectually accomplish it, by requiring all who entered into the church to subscribe to them. But they were very much mistaken. Diversity of opinions soon arose, and men who subscribed the same articles, held contradictory opinions. Not could it possibly be otherwise; for while men are inquisitive they will see things in new lights; and those who are honest and sincere, will not speak contrary to their sentiments. Subscriptions then are only clogs and incumbrances; they answer no good end, but may occasion many mischiefs. Yea, many there are who believe that “ the
K “ imposing

(a) Vid. the articles of religion, and constitutions and canons ecclesiastical canon 36. and statute 13 Eliz. c. 12. sect. 1. and 34.

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to the greatest dignities. So amazingly inconsistent was his conduct.

Cardinal

(b) Essay on imposing and subscribing articles of religion, by Phileleutherus Cantabrigienfis, p. 31. Lond. 1719. 8vo.

(c) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 72. Lond. 1668. Fol.

(d) Id. p. 98.

“ imposing articles has given occasion to almost all the
 “ uncharitableness and persecutions, the devastations
 “ and destruction of christians, that have ever been
 “ since articles first were made (b).” — In the time of
Elizabeth there was a pretty great uniformity of belief
 in the doctrinal points of religion among the clergy;
 they in general were Calvinists, and so were their suc-
 cessors in the reign of *James*. *Bancroft* indeed was
 very different in his opinion. But *Abbot*, *Mountague*, and
 almost all the rest of the bishops adhered to the doctrine
 of the church in like manner as their predecessors.
 Thus things continued till about the year 1616, when
James being acquainted with what dangers would pro-
 ceed from training up of young students in the grounds
 of Calvinism, dispatched some directions to the vice-
 chancellor, and professors of divinity at Oxford, which
 was “ the first step, says Dr. *Heylin*, towards the sup-
 “ pressing of that reputation which *Calvin* and his wri-
 “ tings had attained unto in that university (c).” And
 in the year 1622, instructions were drawn up and sent
 to the archbishops, and by them to the bishops, in
 which they were required to see to it, “ that no preacher
 “ of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop or
 “ dean at the least, do henceforth presume to preach in
 “ any popular auditory, the deep points of predestina-
 “ tion, election, reprobation, or of the universality,
 “ efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace
 “ (d).” *Laud* had a hand in drawing this up, and
 what his intent was thereby, is not difficult to guess.
 However so it was, that the Calvinists continually lost
 ground in the king's favour, and the Arminians had
 credit with him. *Laud*, *Howson*, and *Corbet* were ad-
 vanced to bishopricks by him, though publicly known
 to be Arminians: *Neile*, of the like opinion, was in
 great favour, and received many promotions from him:
 and

Cardinal *Perron* having pronounced in the chamber of the third estate at Paris, Jan. 15, 1615, an oration, and sent it to *James*, he

Richard *Montague*, one of the most violent Arminians of the age, received his open protection and approbation of all the opinions contained in the book for which he was afterwards questioned in parliament (e). What shall we think of such a conduct as this? are the same doctrines heresies abroad, and truths at home? are men in Holland to be deemed enemies to God, and worthy of synodical condemnation for holding particular opinions, and in England fit for the highest ecclesiastical promotions? what must the world judge of the man who behaved so very contradictory?—But *James* had his reasons for favouring the Arminians in England. They were supple and fawning, they knew how to flatter artfully, and, above all, they seemed very zealous in preaching up

(e) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 125. and Cabala, p. 111.

The right divine of kings to govern wrong,

And

Th'enormous faith of millions made for one. (f).

(f) Pope's essay on man, Ep. 3. l. 243.

Nothing could be more acceptable to him than this, it atoned for their errors, yea made them most orthodox in his sight. For he was either indifferent as to all religious principles, or believed just nothing at all about them; or otherwise he could not have acted as we see he did.

The following account from Mr. *Waller's* life will make a proper supplement to what has been said concerning the artful flattery, and high prerogative notions of the Arminian clergy at this time.—“ On the day “ of the dissolution of the last parliament of king “ *James* I. Mr. *Waller*, out of curiosity or respect, “ went to see the king at dinner, with whom were “ Dr. *Andrews* the bishop of *Winchester*, and Dr. *Neaſt* “ bishop

he soon after published his remonstrance (EEE) for the right of kings, and the independence

“ bishop of *Durham*, standing behind his majesty’s
 “ chair. There happened something very extraordinary
 “ in the conversation those prelates had with the king,
 “ on which Mr. *Waller* did often reflect. His majesty
 “ asked the bishops, *My lords, cannot I take my subjects*
 “ *money when I want it, without all this formality in*
 “ *parliament?* The bishop of *Durham* readily answered,
 “ *God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath*
 “ *of our nostrils:* whereupon the king turned and said
 “ to the bishop of *Winchester*, *well, my lord, what say*
 “ *you?* Sir, replied the bishop, *I have no skill to judge*
 “ *of parliamentary cases.* The king answered, *no put-*
 “ *offs, my lord, answer me presently.* Then, Sir, said
 “ he, *I think it is lawful for you to take my brother*
 “ *Neal’s money, for he offers it.* Mr. *Waller* said the
 “ company was pleased with this answer, and the wit
 “ of it seemed to affect the king (g).”

(g) Account
 of the life
 and writings
 of Mr. Wal-
 ler, prefixed
 to his po-
 ems. p. 67.
 edit. Lond.
 1712. 12mo.
 (a) King
 James’s
 works, p.
 383.
 (b) Id. p.
 386.

(c) Id. p.
 382.

(EEE) He published his remonstrance for the rights of kings.] This piece is written with much more decency than the other controversial tracts of *James*. He acknowledgeth *Perron* to be a prelate in great authority, and of no less learning (a), and owns his courtesy in sending him a copy of his oration (b). But at the same time he insinuates that in the cardinal’s speech, his lips looked one way, and his conscience another: and professes “ his rest is up, that one of the maynes for which
 “ God had advanced him upon the loftie stage of the
 “ supream throne, was, that his words uttered from so
 “ eminent a place, for God’s honor, most shamefully
 “ traduced and villified in his own deputies and lieute-
 “ nants, might with greater facility be conceived (c).”
 Then he gives the reasons for his engaging in this controversy: which were first, “ the common interest of
 “ kings.”

Secondly,

pendance of their crowns, against the oration

Secondly, "The cardinal's speaking as one representing the clergy and nobility."

Thirdly, "Because he himself had been represented by him as a sower of dissention, and a persecutor, under whom the church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whom the catholics of his kingdom are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments."

Lastly, "By reason that France was reduced to so miserable terms, that it was become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his king, it was a necessary duetie of her neighbours to speak in her behalf (d)."

These are the reasons alleged by *James* for engaging against *Perron*. After this he proceeds to his defence of the right of kings, and endeavours to shew that what the cardinal had advanced in support of his doctrine, that it was absurd and incongruous to condemn, or wrappe under the solemn curse, the abettors of the pope's power to unking lawful and sovereign kings: he endeavours to prove that what was said by the cardinal in behalf hereof, was meer nullity. matter of imagination, and built upon false positions (e). To enter into a minute detail of

James's arguments would be tiresome to the reader. Let it therefore suffice to say, that he quotes fathers, councils and schoolmen; and that history and scripture are alledged by him, and sometimes not impertinently.

It appears from this defence of the right of kings, that *James* had had a correspondence with *Perron* for years before; that he had sent him a discourse in writing, to which in three years the cardinal had not replied, which is attributed not to a want of capacity, but to "well advised agnition of his own working and building upon a weak foundation (f)." If one knew nothing more of *James* than what might be gathered from this book, one should be tempted to imagine that he was a most zealous protestant. For he attributes all

(d) King
James's
works, p.
390.

(e) Id. p.
396.

(f) Id. p.
470.

tion of the most illustrious cardinal of *Perron*.

(g) Id. p.
393.

the miseries of France and Great Britain to the Romish clergy (g), whom he paints out in no very agreeable colours; and at the same time praises the French protestants in an extraordinary manner. He tells us he could never learn that those of the religion in France, took arms against their king. In the first civil wars, says he, they stood only upon their guard; they armed not nor took the field before they were pursued with fire and sword, burnt up and slaughtered. They were a refuge and succour to the princes of the blood; in regard of which worthy and honourable service, the French king hath reason to have the protestants in his gracious remembrance. He then sets forth their great merit with respect to the third and fourth Henry, to whom they stood in all their battles, to bear up the crown then tottering and ready to fall (b)."

(b) Id. p.
420.

This is a very remarkable testimony to the fidelity and loyalty of the hugonots, as it comes from one who hated their principle of parity in the church, looked on such as held it as very pests in church and commonwealth, and who spoke more bitterly of them than of the papists (i). For the French protestants differed nothing at all from the English and Scotch puritans, either in discipline or doctrine. This remonstrance against *Perron*, was written first in French by his majesty, afterwards by his leave translated into English, as also into Latin, anno 1616, in 4to. for I remember to have seen such an edition of it in that language.—*Perron*

(i) See note
[u].

(k) Characters historical and panegyric, Vol. II. p. 5.

(l) Great historical dictionary, article *Perron*.

(James Davy du,)

though he had neglected *James's* private writing returned an answer to this public remonstrance, for in the account of the said cardinal's writings in *Perrault's* characters (k), and in *Collier's* dictionary (l), I find a work intitled, "a reply to the king of Great Britain's answer." Whether this is the whole of the title I know not, any more than I do what the answer contained, for both these authors are by much too superficial in their accounts of the most eminent writers, and their performances

ron. This was his last controversial work. But besides the pieces already mentioned, he published also a counterblaste to tobacco (FFF), began a translation of the psalms of king

formances (m).—As this remonstrance is the last polemical work of James which we have to mention, Lord Shaftsbury's description of him as a prince-writer, will not improperly conclude this note. As to which, from what has been seen by the reader already, he may in a good measure be able to judge of its truth and propriety. "A prince of a pacific nature and fluent thought, submitting *arms* and martial discipline to the *gown*; and confiding in his princely science and profound learning, made his style and speech the nerve and sinew of his government. He gave us his works full of wise exhortation and advice to his royal son, as well of instruction to his good people; who could not without admiration observe their *author-sovereign*, thus studious and contemplative in their behalf. 'Twas then one might have seen our nation growing young and docile, with that simplicity of heart which qualified them to profit like a *scholar*-people under their royal *preceptor*. For with abundant eloquence he graciously gave lessons to his parliament, tutored his ministers, and edified the greatest churchmen and divines themselves; by whose suffrage he obtained the highest appellations which could be merited by the acutest wit, and truest understanding. From hence the British nations were taught to own in common a *Solomon* for their joint sovereign, the founder of their late compleated union (n)." Whether this description of our *author-sovereign*, as his lordship styles him, be too soft or severe, I leave entirely to the judgment of the reader: nothing doubting but he will be pleased to see it, whatever he may think of it.

(m) Vid. appendix.

(n) Characteristicks, Vol. I. p. 191. edit. 12mo: 1746.

(FFF) He published a counterblaste to tobacco] This was

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king David; and writ a few sonnets and epigrams

was first printed in quarto, without name or date. It is a wretched performance both for matter and manner. In it he sets forth how dishonourable 'tis in us to imitate the beastly Indians in so vile and stinking a custom as using tobacco; how unreasonable the pleas alledged in defence of it are; and the mischievous consequences flowing from the use, or filthy abuse of it. Here he tells us that by using tobacco men are guilty of sinful and shameful lust; that 'tis a branch of the sin of drunkenness; that it enervates the body, and ruins the estate; for, adds he, "some gentlemen bestow three, "some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious "stink (a)." If this is true 'tis very amazing. Tho' 'tis certain *James* laid a most heavy duty on it, in order to hinder its consumption. "For there is extant "his warrant to the lord treasurer *Dorset*, anno 1604. "for laying a good heavy imposition on tobacco, that "less quantity may be brought into the realm, and "only sufficient for the better sort, who will use it "with moderation for their health; wherefore he authorises the said treasurer to order, that from the 26th "of October ensuing, the proper officers should take "of all who import tobacco, the sum of six shillings "and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and "above the custom of two pence per pound usually "paid heretofore (b)." Excellent policy this! to discourage the taking of that which has since proved one of the greatest revenues of the crown, and has produced vast benefit to *Britain*, and her plantations. For two of our colonies are supported by it; great numbers of ships and seamen are employed in bringing it over; and the custom duties of it are counted, on a medium, to amount to 169,079 l. 0 s. 10 d. per annum. But 'tis no wonder "that such a philosopher, as could magnify "the power of witches, after the manner he has done "in one of his learned pamphlets, should be such a politician as to discourage the taking of tobacco in another,

(a) King
James's
works, p.
221.

(b) Rymer's
Fœdera,
Tom. XVI.
fol. 601.
apud Oldys's
life of Raleigh, p. 32.
Note d. Fol.
Lond. 1733.
and acta regia, p. 518.
Fol. Lond.
1734.

taphs (GGG). So fond was he of shewing his parts, instructing and entertaining his good

“ other, says Mr. *Oldys* (c).” “ But those who have (c) *Oldys*,
 “ not admired, continues the same gentleman, at his P. 32.
 “ prejudice in this attempt to dispel the fumes of that
 “ herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the
 “ witty title of his performance without imputation of
 “ irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his po-
 “ licy, in so far conducing to its suppression, as to ex-
 “ clude it from the body of his works, when this royal
 “ pamphletteer resolved to become an author in folio.”
 If I understand this paragraph aright, it is asserted in it
 that the *counterblast* to tobacco, makes no part of *James's*
 folio volume. But this is a mistake, and could proceed
 from nothing but trusting, I suppose, too much to me-
 mory, in a thing of small importance. A fault, that
 even the most exact authors are liable to fall into.

(GGG) He began a translation of the psalms of king
David, &c.] In lord *Anglesey's* catalogue, I find king
James's translation of the psalms to be sung after the
 old tunes, 1651 (a); and I am assured by a learned (a) Biblio-
 friend, from one who has seen it, that such a transla- theca angle-
 tion was published in his name, though I have not yet siana, article
 been so fortunate as to meet with it. But this transla- (divinity, in
 tion was only begun by *James*, as we may learn from small 8vo.
 the following quotation. “ This translation he was in 12mo. &c.
 “ hand with, says bishop *Williams*, (when God called P. 19.) Lond.
 “ him to sing psalms with the angels.)—he intended 1686. 4to.
 “ to have finished and dedicated it to the only saint of
 “ his devotion, the church of Great Britain, and that
 “ of Ireland. This work was staid in the one and
 “ thirty psalm.” *——We have two sonnets of his
 in

* Great Britain's Salomon. A sermon preached at the magnificent funeral of the most high and mighty king *James*. By *John* lord bishop of *Lincolne*, lord keeper of the great seale of England. London, printed for *John Bill*, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1625. p. 42. 4to.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

good subjects, and overcoming his adversaries in literary contests! but he had an absolute aversion to war (HHH). This led him hastily

(b) James's works, p. 89, 137.
(c) Ch. hist. p. 411.

in his works (b); an epitaph on the chancellor of Scotland, in *Spotswood* (c); and another on that valiant, polite, and learned gentleman, Sir Philip Sydney, in Collier's dictionary. This latter, being but short, I will give to the reader, as a specimen of James's poetry.

When *Venus* saw the noble *Sidney* dying,
She thought it her beloved *Mars* had been;
And with the thought thereof she fell a crying,
And cast away her rings and carknets clean.
He that in death a goddess mock'd and griev'd,
What had he done (trow you) if he had lived. (d)

(d) Great historical dictionary, article Sidney (Sir Philip)

This, I think, is one of the best of his poetical compositions. The reader, after this, need not be told that James's talents for poetry were not extraordinary. Besides the pieces of poetry I have mentioned, I am informed by the very worthy and learned Mr. Birch, that there is extant in James's name, another intitled, "His majesty's lepanto, or heroical story, being part of his poetical exercises at vacant hours, London, 1603. in 4to." A sight of this, perhaps, might afford some diversion. This book being burnt among those of the honourable Charles York, Esq; at Lincoln's Inn in the late fire there, Mr. Birch could give no further account of it.

(HHH) He had an absolute aversion to war.] "I know not by what fortune the *dicton* of *Pacificus* was added to my title, at my coming into England: that of the lyon expressing true fortitude, having been my *dicton* before: but I am not ashamed of this addition; for king Solomon was a figure of Christ in that, that he was a king of peace. The greatest gift that our Saviour gave his apostles, immediately

hastily to conclude a peace with Spain
(III), to

“diately before his ascension, was, that he left his
“peace with them; he himself having prayed for his
“persecutors, and forgiven his own death, as the pro-
“verb is (a).”——In the first audience the duke of (a) King
Sully had of James, he told him, “that if he had James’s
“found the *English* at war with the *French*, his endea- works, p.
“vours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace 590.
“with a prince, [*Henry the fourth*] who, like himself,
“had been called from the crown of *Navarre* to that
“of *France*: it being always commendable, said he,
“to overcome evil with good (b).” These are good (b) Sully’s
sentiments enough for private persons; but they may memoirs,
be carried much too far by princes. Forgiveness and Vol. II. p.
impunity from these, only draw on fresh injuries; and 25.
he who will not at any time avenge wrongs received,
will be sure to meet with enough of them. Princes
owe protection to their subjects; but this cannot be
afforded many times, unless chastisement be inflicted on
those who injure them. Wars therefore are sometimes
necessary; and a warlike prince will be always respect-
able to his neighbours. But the known coward will
be looked on with contempt. He will be affronted
perpetually, and every opportunity will be taken to ri-
dicule and oppress him. So that though the love of
peace in princes be commendable, yet, when it is car-
ried too far, it degenerates into a fault, and gives just
ground for the subjects complaints. Happy the people
who have a prince who neither loves nor fears to draw
his sword! They may be sure of being defended in their
just rights by him; of being guarded from unjust inva-
sions, and secured by his valour from the evils which
threaten them. His power will make him considerable
in the eyes of his neighbours; they will attend to his
reasons, and be influenced by his persuasions. For they
will not slightly provoke one known not tamely to put
up injuries. So that the profession of fortitude and re-
solution, of courage and magnanimity, becomes better
the

(III), to the amazement and great advantage of

the mouths of princes, than that of meekness and forgiving of injuries: for the former may, possibly, be of use and service, but the latter can answer no good purpose in the present state of the world.

(a) Old-castle's remarks on the history of England, p. 238. and acta regia, p. 521.

(III) This led him to conclude a peace with Spain, &c.] The peace was concluded Aug. 18, 1604. But before this, in a few weeks after James came into England, he revoked the letters of reprisal on the subjects of *Spain*, which had been granted by *Elizabeth*, without staying to be solicited on that head, or to be complimented on his accession to the throne, by the king of *Spain* (a). So that he disarmed his subjects before he had provided for their better security. He stopt them in the course of doing themselves justice, before he was sure of obtaining reparation for their past losses.

The king of *Spain* had now reduced himself to a very low ebb, by his wars with *England* and the *Netherlands*, in which, for the most part, he had been unsuccessful. The king of *Spain*, says Sir Walter *Raleigh*, in his discourse touching a war with *Spain*, written before the conclusion of the peace, and intended to be presented to *James*. “The king of *Spain*, says he, is now “so poor, as he employed his jesuits to beg for him at “every church-door in *Spain*.

“His revenues are mortgaged in such sort, as of “twenty-five millions, he has but five millions free; “his ships are worn out and consumed, and his people “in general exceeding poor.

“He hath of late received many affronts and losses; “and in *Peru* many of the chiefest and best towns are “recovered from him by the natives.

“And commonly, when great monarchies begin “once in the least to decline, their dissipation will soon “follow after.

“The Spanish empire hath been greatly shaken, and “hath begun of late years to decline; and it is a principle

“ciple

of the Spaniards; who thereby had an opportunity

“ ciple in philosophy, that *omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem*. That the least decay of any part is a forerunner of the destruction of the whole.

“ And though it may be a while upheld, as the state of Rome was by *Vespasian* and *Trajan*; yet following the former declination, *retro statim sub-lapsa fertur usque dum plane subversa fuit*. It presently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman state was utterly overthrown.

“ But if now the king of Spain can obtain peace upon any condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his weakness, both in *Europe* and the *Indies*, and gather again sufficient riches, putting the English from the exercise of war in those parts, and so make us to forget his *Indies*, till those be consumed that know them; he will soon grow to his former greatness and pride: and then if your majesty shall leave the *Low Countries*, and he finds us by ourselves, it will not be long e'er he remembers his old practices and attempts (b).”

But no such considerations as these could have any influence on James. He had revoked the letters of reprisal, and a peace he was determined to have.

—You shall now understand (says lord Cecyll to Mr. Winwood, in a letter dated Ap. 12, 1604.) “ that the constable of *Castile* is come to *Dunkirk*, and resolved presently to take his passage; so as there is now nothing so certain as a treaty, and in my opinion nothing more likely than a peace. For as it is most true, that his majesty's mind is most inclinable thereunto, and that in contemplation thereof, things have been so carried here, as if a war were now somewhat unseasonable, so you may see by the king of Spain's great descent from the height of his forms towards other princes, as he is determined to go through with it; being now it seems confirmed in the French position, *qui a le profit a l'honneur*. A matter I do confess to you I do clearly foresee he will

“ have

(b) The works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. political, commercial, and philosophical, by Tho Birch, M. A. Vol. II. p. 12. 8vo. Lond. 1751.

portunity given them of retrieving their almost

“ have, unless the estates of those poor countries [the
 “ Netherlands] have some more adjuvances towards
 (c) Win- “ their subsisting (c).” — The treaty was soon con-
 wood, Vol. cluded, of friendship and amity, and mutual trade to
 II. p. 18. each others dominions (d). — ’Tis very remarkable,
 (d) Id. p. 22. that low as the Spaniards were, depending on James’s
 pacific disposition, they stily denied the English free
 (e) Id. p. 22. trade and commerce with the East and West Indies (e);
 and got it inserted in the articles that no aid or assist-
 ance whatsoever should be given to the enemies or re-
 bels on either part; yea moreover they had the English
 (f) Id. p. 29. in Spain subjected to the power of the inquisition (f).
 Cecyll indeed said it were vanity to have expected more
 than they had concerning the matter of trade to the
Indies, and the *inquisition*. But it does not appear that
 he had reason for his affirmation. For the Spaniards
 were in so much want of a peace, that they would have
 submitted to almost any thing to obtain it; and they
 themselves were surprized to find that it was made on
 so advantageous conditions. Sir Charles Cornwallis, in
 a letter to the same Cecyll, lord viscount Cranborne,
 principal secretary to his majesty, from Spain, dated June
 2, 1605. has the following remarkable expressions. “ I
 “ find here by many arguments that this peace came
 “ opportunely for this kingdom, and is admired of all
 “ Europe, yea of this kingdom itself, how it was pos-
 “ sible with so advantageous conditions to them, and so
 “ little profitable to our realm it could be effected.
 “ The duke of *Anera* discoursing with one of great
 “ privacie and trust with him, after he had heard that
 “ the peace was in such forme concluded, said in plain
 “ termes, that the king and counsellors of England
 “ had not their senses when in such sort they agreed
 “ upon it. And some Spaniards have lately reported,
 “ that the king of Spain’s money purchased this quiet;
 “ otherwise peace with so good conditions could never
 “ have been obtained. — I know that besides your lord-
 “ ship’s

most desperate affairs, and of pushing on the war

“ ship’s exceeding wisdom, your lordship out of
 “ your true noble disposition, hath ever equalled the
 “ care of the safte and honor of your countrie with
 “ your own life. I verily persuade myself that the
 “ *king’s own christian and earnest inclination to peace,*
 “ lead on the treaty with speedy feet.——But by
 “ those collections that I have made, and relations of
 “ others well practised in this state, I find that England
 “ never lost such an opportunity of winning honor and
 “ wealth unto it, as by relinquishing the war with Spain.
 “ The king and kingdom were reduced to such an es-
 “ tate, as they could not in all likelihood have endured
 “ the space of two years more ; his own treasure was
 “ exhausted, his rents and customs *signed* for the most
 “ part for the payment of money borrowed, his nobi-
 “ lity poor and much indebted, his merchants wasted,
 “ his people of the countrie in all extremitie of neces-
 “ sity, his devices of gaining by the increase of the
 “ valuation of money, and other such of that nature,
 “ all plaid over ; his credit in borrowing, by means of
 “ the uncertaintie of his estate during the war with
 “ England, much decayed, the subjects of his many
 “ distracted dominions held in obedience by force and
 “ feare, not by love and dutie ; and therefore rather a
 “ care and burthen, than a relief and strength to him.
 “ Himself very young, and in that regard with his
 “ people in no great veneration ; and the less for suf-
 “ fering himself to be wholly governed by a man ge-
 “ nerally hated of his own country ; his strength at
 “ sea not able to secure his ports at home, much less
 “ his *Indies*, or his treasure homewards (g).” This is
 rather a stronger picture of the deplorable state of Spain
 than Sir Walter Raleigh’s, and from it, it clearly appears
 that we needed not have been afraid to have insisted
 on almost any thing from it ; and consequently much
 less have submitted to a deprivation of the Indian trade
 and to the inquisition. But James’s earnest inclination
 for

(g) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 75.

war with the Dutch, against whom they were,

for peace, and the king of *Spain's* money procured this treaty: for money was distributed in abundance among the English courtiers who promoted the peace, as appears not only from what is asserted by Sir Charles *Cornwallis* in the above letter, but from other unquestionable authorities. In the memoirs of *Sully* we read, "That no sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London, than he multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained (b)." And Sir Henry *Neville* in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated Aug. 19, 1604. writes, "We say the Spanish ambassadors have taken up many jewels here (we suppose to bestow upon our grandees; so not to leave any advantage to the *French*, who began that angling fashion unto them) with the king's privity and all mens wonder (i)."—And after the peace was made, the earl of *Nettingham*, lord admiral, ambassador extraordinary into Spain, had bestowed on him at his departure, in plate, jewels and horses, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, by that king. And to some other of his principal attendants were given chains and jewels of great value (k). And it appears from Sir Charles *Cornwallis's* letter to the earl of *Salisbury*, out of *Spain*, that there were many pensions given in the court of *England* (l). *Osborn*, therefore, seems to have reason for saying "that *James* cast himself as it were blindfold into a peace with *Spain*, far more destructive to England than a war; for it hath not only found that prince an opportunity to recover his strength (much abated by the queen's happy successes at sea) but gave him a fair advantage to establish himself in the kingdom of Portugal, and quiet the distempers of his own people. And as this peace, adds he, was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard, so he spared for no cost to procure it: and to prevent the inserting any article that might obstruct his re-
course

(b) *Sully's* memoirs, Vol. II. p. 181.

(i) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 26.

(k) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 89. and *Birch's* negotiations, p. 223.
(l) *Id.* p. 96.

were, in a manner, implacable, on account of their revolt for religion and liberty. But not

“ course to or from the *Indies* (the magazine of strife)
 “ either on this side or beyond the line (thought by the
 “ *English* commissioners not included, however the con-
 “ trary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by
 “ King *James*, than with patience and a quiet submis-
 “ sion of his subjects to their sense, not rarely punish-
 “ ing such as transgress, at their coming home) he pre-
 “ sented all, both *Scotish* and *English* with gifts, and
 “ those no small ones; for by that the earl of *Northamp-*
 “ *ton*, brother to *Suffolk*, had, he was alone able to
 “ raise and finish the goodly pile he built in the strand.--
 “ Nor are there a few others no less brave houses fresh
 “ in my memory, that had their foundations, if not
 “ their walls and roofs, plastered with the same mortar.--
 “ This I shall add as no improbable conjecture made by
 “ many in those days, that his catholic majesty was so
 “ frightened by the apprehension of a possibility that our
 “ king, according to the nature, no less than the obli-
 “ gation of his country, might fall into a conjunction
 “ with *France*, that he would scarce at that time have de-
 “ nied him any thing, to the half of his *Indies*. And from
 “ hence all princes may calculate the vast difference that
 “ lies between a council suborned, and one free
 “ from corruption.” (a) This last reflection, appears
 to me very judicious. “ A gift blindeth the wise, and
 “ perverteth the words of the righteous,” says the great
 “ *Hebrew* legislator (b). No prince can ever be safe
 who permits his counsellors to take presents from foreign
 princes. For their judgments will be biased, their af-
 fections be engaged, and they be disposed to serve others,
 more than their own master; so that of the utmost con-
 sequence is it to have ministers depend wholly on their
 prince, if they receive presents from others, they must
 earn them; by giving counsel suitable to the instructions
 they receive, or by divulging those resolutions which
 ought most of all to be concealed. They must be spys

(a) Osborn's
works,
p. 470.

(b) Exod.
23, 8.

notwithstanding, the articles of the peace were but poorly observed by them, [KKK] and produced not the effect expected in point of

to those who bribe them, and unfaithful to their master by whom they are intrusted. So that 'tis amazing that James should consent to his grantees receiving the *Spanish* presents; for a moments reflection would have set before him, the pernicious consequences of it. The prince who would preserve his reputation, and accomplish his ends, should keep his councils secret. He should have a strict eye on the ambassadors sent to him, that they gain not the weak by their address, the proud by their fawning, or the interested by their bounty. For nothing is more certain than that by flattery, cunning and seduction, they endeavour to delude ministers into a discovery of the secrets of state. In short, as a great writer expresses it, "they do all the mischief they can; their profession allows them to transgress; they sin out of duty, and are sure of impunity: 'tis against the wiles of those spys that princes ought to be chiefly on their guard (c)."

(c) Anti-Machiavel, p. 316.

[KKK] The articles of the peace were but poorly observed by them, &c.] My authorities for this will not be disputed. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated *London, December 8, 1604*, writes, "It is commonly reported that our merchants are ill-used in *Spain* by the inquisition; and besides that, that the trade proves nothing so beneficial as was expected; partly by reason that the merchants there are become poor by these wars, and not able to buy but upon days, and many of those that have been trusted, have played bankrupts, inasmuch, as some of ours have brought back their commodities, rather than they would sell upon credit; and partly, by reason, that in this time of long restraint of trade, they have been forced to betake themselves to the making of cloth there, and do make it now in that quantity, as they care not much

of profit, by the English, to whom the peace soon became very disagreeable, by reason of the

“ much for ours, which was wont to be our chiefest
 “ trade thither. And as for corn, the *French*, both by
 “ reason of their nearness and abundance, will ever fur-
 “ nish them better cheap than we can. So as there ap-
 “ pears little hope of any fruit of our peace in that re-
 “ gard; which joined with some other considerations
 “ of state, that have reference to your affairs there
 “ [*Holland*,] begins to cool that ardent affection which
 “ carried us so strongly to that treaty, and begets some
 “ discourses, (even amongst our greatest governors)
 “ that this will be but a short peace.” (a)

(a) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 38.

And Sir Charles *Cornwallis* in a letter to the earl of
Salisbury, dated Valludolid, *October* 18, 1605, O. S. tells him “ the Spaniards had made a general stay of

p. 199.

“ justice to all or any of the king his masters subjects.”

(b) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 143.

(b) And the same gentleman, in letter written from
Madrid, in May 1606, tells lord *Salisbury* also, “ that
 “ ’tis written to him from *Sevill*, that *Don Lewis Firar-*
 “ *do* in his voyage, met with certain ships from Eng-
 “ land, loaden with corn and bound to *Sevill*. That he
 “ first took the masters, and first set their necks in the
 “ stocks; after removed them to the *Admiral*, and
 “ there with his own hands did as much to their leggs;
 “ revileing them, and calling them heretiques, Luth-
 “ ran dogs, and enemies of *Christ*, threatening to hang
 “ them; and in conclusion having taken from them
 “ what he thought fit, returned them into their own
 “ ships. Besides the cruelty he shewed to those of Mr.
 “ *Edward*’s ship in the *Indies*, he holdeth still in the
 “ gallies all the marriners of Mr. *Halls* and Mr. *El-*
 “ *drids* ships, also those of Mr. *Bromley*.” (c) The
 letters of Sir *Charles* are full of the wrongs the English
 received, and the endeavours he used in order to get sa-
 tisfaction, tho’ many times in vain. When he com-
 plained to the duke of *Lerma*, prime minister of *Spain*,
 of the behaviour of *Firardo* with regard to confiscating

(c) Ib. p.
 213, see al-
 so *Cabala*,
 p. 201.

the ill treatment they received. But *James's* pacific

(d) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 221.

the merchants effects, and sending the mariners whom he took in the *Indies* to the gallies: *Lerma* very sharply answered, "that *Firardo* shall be called to account for " that he did not instantly execute them." (d) In short, such was the ill treatment the subjects of the British Crown received from the Spaniards, that Sir Henry *Nevile*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated June 4, 1606, writes, "that upon sunday last divers merchants and merchants wives were at the court, and " made grievous complaint unto the king, the one of " their servants, and the other of their husbands, imprisoned and put to the gallies in *Spain*, and of much " injustice and oppression done there to our nation; besides some particular contumely to the king personally; " the like complaint was made before to the lords. I " hear it hath moved much, and this I will assure you, " that the kingdom, generally wishes this peace broken, " but *Jacobus Pacificus* I believe will scarce incline to " that side." (e) At length the patience of the merchants began to fail. They saw no relief from *James*, and therefore applied to the house of commons, to be a means for them to obtain letters of mart. The commons received favourably their address, and desired the assistance of the upper house. But this was refused. Tho' this gave occasion, says lord *Salisbury*, in a letter to Sir Charles *Cornwallis*, dated July 15, 1607. "to " the lords of the council yesterday, to call the merchants before them, and to acquaint them with the " substance of these answers sent from *Spain*; and to " advise them (if they find such a general ill usage in " *Spain* as they complain of) to be more moderate in " their trade thither, and to withdraw their stock and " factors from thence, that so his majesty might grant " them letters of *reprisal*, without prejudice to others " that have large stocks there. Otherwise it would " prove a most preposterous course, to grant letters of " *Marte*, where the king of *Spain* hath so great occasion to revenge himself upon, and we scarce a ship or " man

(e) Id. p.
227.

pacific disposition continued ; nor could the
distresses

“ man to requite him in it.” (f) But letters of *Mart* (f) Win-
and *reprisal* were never granted ; tho’ the *Spaniards* con- wood, Vol.
tinued to treat the *English* extreamly ill, even when II. p. 326.
they pretended great friendship. For Sir Walter *Raleigh*
speaks of it as a known fact, in a letter to king *James*
himself, “ that the *Spaniards* murdered twenty six *English*-
“ men, tying them back to back, and then cutting their
“ throats, when they had traded with them a whole
“ month, and came to them on the land, without so
“ much as one sword.” (g)—Surely the *Spaniards* must (g) *Raleigh’s*
have had a very great reliance on the pacific disposition of works, Vol.
James, to act after this manner, in their circumstances ! II. p. 376.
and most amazing is it, that the national spirit had not
exerted itself, in its own defence, more than it did.—
Before I leave this subject, I cannot help remarking that
almost all our treaties with *Spain*, seem to have been
but badly observed by her. This first arose from the
the negligence of *James*, in making the peace. He
contented himself with concluding a treaty of amity,
and mutual trade to each others dominions ; but trade
and commerce being denied to the east and west *Indies*,
and the *Spaniards* looking on all *America* as their own,
it came to pass that they seized all vessels they found in
those seas, though going only to those colonies which
were indisputably discovered by the *English*. So that
there was a continual war there, when there was peace
in *Europe*. In 1668, and 1671, treaties were again
made with that nation, whereby the right of commerce
and navigation, and the bounds of the several territories
possessed by the two crowns in *America*, were fixed.
But these treaties were but ill observed likewise ; and
great complaints were made by the *English*, of the hard- (b) See the
ships they suffered from the *Spaniards*. (b) In 1713, a new representation of the
treaty was made at *Utrecht*. But this was observed board of
like the others. Complaints soon followed it ; as they trade to K.
did that made at *Seville*, in 1729. The representation George I. in
of our merchants with regard to their ill treatment by Torbuck’s
the Spanish *guarda costas* ; the imprisonment of our parliamentary debates,
Vol. IX.
L 3 brave p. 414.

distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny excite him to enter into a war [LLL] for their defence: But he suffered them

brave sailors to the number of seventy; the cutting off *Jenkins's* ear, and many other things still fresh in memory brought on the late war, which was ended by the peace at *Aix la Chappelle*, the effect of which must be left to time to discover.——What can be the reason that our treaties with *Spain* have been thus ineffectual for the maintenance of peace and friendship? Are they more false than others, or we more incroaching in order to obtain those riches they so carefully guard from us? are not the treaties sufficiently plain and explicit? do they admit of different senses, and bear divers constructions? or have we not capacity sufficient to negotiate advantageously with them?—These things must be determined by those who have opportunities and abilities for their discussion. For my own part, I must say

(*r*) Vir. E.
3. l. 1089

Non nostrum tantas componere lites. (*i*)

'Tis not in me this contest to decide.

TRAPP.

(*a*) Win-
wood. Vol.
III. p. 434.

(*b*) Id. p.
421.

[LLL] Nor could the distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny, excite him to enter into a war, &c.] This his daughter was *Elizabeth*, married to *Frederick* the fifth, elector *Palatine*, Feb. 14, 1613, N. S. to the great joy of all true protestants (*a*) The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the prince gained the love and good-will of the English by his affability and great generosity. (*b*) The Spanish ambassador, and the ambassador from the arch-dukes, were not present at the marriage, being greatly enraged at it, “fearing indeed thereby, says Mr. *Trumbull* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, that we do aim at wresting the empire out of the *Austrians* hands, which they say shall never be effected, so long as the conjoined forces of all the catholiques in christendom, shall be able to maintain them in that right, which now they have “in

them to lose their territories, and be exiles in

a

“in a manner gotten by prescription.” (c) But they (c) Id. p.

had no reason for this their fear, for *James* so far from thinking to wrest the empire out of the *Austrians* hands, did not so much as seriously resolve to support his own daughter, and her children, in their possessions.—I need not enter into a detail of the reasons which induced the *Bohemians* to shake off the *Austrian* yoke, and assert their own just privileges by electing *Frederick* for their king, Au. 28, 1619. Our historians will satisfy the curiosity of such as want information in this matter. Let it suffice to say, that after the elector of *Saxony*, and the duke of *Savoy*, had refused the kingdom of *Bohemia*, *Frederick* accepted of it, without waiting the advice of *James*, his father-in-law, which by his ambassador, he had asked.

(d) In consequence of this he was crowned king of *Bohemia*, and at first met with great success. For *Silesia*, *Moravia*, *Lusatia*, and *Austria* had taken up arms against the emperor *Ferdinand*; as did likewise *Bethlem Gabor*, a prince of great credit at the Ottoman porte, valiant, courageous, and already master of the greatest part of *Hungary*.—But his success did not last long. On Novem. 8. 1620, was the battle of *Prague* fought, which proved fatal to *Frederick*, and his brave *Bohemians*. His army was scattered and routed; himself and queen obliged to fly with precipitation from that country; and his people were subjected to all the insults and cruelties of an enraged conqueror, and a bigotted prince; and with all he was censured for having engaged in an affair, without probability of success, the consequence of which was like to be fatal to him. But this censure seems to have been ill founded. Things turned out very different from what might have been reasonably expected, and therefore though the elector *Palatine* was unfortunate, he was not to be deemed unwise.

(d) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 12.

“For who could have believed that the protestants of
“Germany would have abandoned him, they, who
“under the name of correspondants had engaged from
“the year 1609, to maintain liberty and the protestant

a foreign land, to the great amazement of
strangers,

“ religion in the empire? They who believed that the
“ emperor was an enemy to both? They, in short,
“ who having been consulted by *Frederick*, their chief,
“ in the assembly held at *Rottenburgh*, Septem. 12,
“ 1619, answered that he ought to accept the crown of
“ *Bohemia*, not only as being a new dignity, but also
“ as what was necessary for the public good of *Germany*,
“ and that of their allies; and advised him to set out
“ immediately for *Bohemia*? Who could have believed
“ that *France*, which in those times exclaimed so loud-
“ ly against princes that are too powerful, and solicited
“ all *Europe* to make leagues against the house of *Austria*,
“ would neglect so favourable an opportunity of weaken-
“ ing it? who would have believed that *France* would
“ side with *Ferdinand*, against those who aimed at de-
“ priving him of a part of his power? who could have
“ believed that *Bethlem Gabor*, after such fortunate be-
“ ginnings, after all the reputation he had acquired,
“ and all the interest he had with the *Turk*, would be
“ of no service to the *Palatine*? Let us therefore say,
“ that *Frederick* was deceived by a train of events so
“ singular, that the most refined prudence could never
“ have suspected it. Let us not believe those who pre-
“ tend that the vanity of the duke of *Bovillon*, his un-
“ cle, joined with that of the electress, threw him into
“ an imprudent undertaking. They say, that the duke
“ wrote to his friends at *Paris*, that while the king of
“ France was making knights at *Fountainbleau*, he was
“ making kings in *Germany*. He might have said so;
“ but as he was one of the ablest men of his age, it is
“ not probable that he would have advised his nephew to
“ accept a crown, if he ought in prudence to have re-
“ fused it.” (e) But let us return to our history.—
No sooner had *Frederick* lost the battle of *Prague*, and
with it the kingdom of *Bohemia*, but almost all his allies
forsook him. He now found himself proscribed by the
emperor, attacked by the *Spaniards* in his own country
the *Palatinate*, and had at length the misfortune to
become

(e) Bayle's
historical
discourse on
the life of
*Gustavus
Adolphus*
at the end
of the last
edition of his
dictionary,
p. 678.

strangers, and the grief of his own subjects ;
who

become an exile in *Holland*, deprived of his patrimony, together with his regal and electoral dignities; and reduced to great necessities, from which it never was his fortune to get free. In his fate his wife and children were involved, and consequently he was an object of great compassion.—Let us now see how his father-in-law behaved towards him in these circumstances. No sooner had *Frederick* accepted the crown of *Bohemia*, but he shewed his dislike of it, and would never suffer the title of king to be given him in his presence. (f) Yea, he ordered his ambassador, Sir Henry *Wotton* to make it known “ to all princes, whom it might any way concern, that in the election of his son-in-law to the crown of *Bohemia*, he had no part by any precedent counsel or practice.” (g) And in pursuance of his instructions, the said Sir Henry *Wotton* assured the emperor, “ that his majesty had not given the title of king to his son-in-law, or of queen to his daughter, in any letter either public or private; nor had permitted the same title, in any sermons within his kingdom.” (h) (b) Id. p. 503. Indeed he declared, that “ though he was resolved to suspend his judgment about the differences between the emperor and the Bohemians, yet he found himself tied both by nature and by reason, not to leave the patrimonial inheritance of his own descendants, that is, neither the inferior, nor superior Palatinate in the hands of any alien usurper.” (i) Accordingly when *Spinola* was about to march into the Palatinate with thirty thousand men, he sent one regiment thither under the command of Sir Horatio *Vere*, for its defence, who performed good service. (k) But even this he meanly apologized for to the emperor, and declared that the troops sent towards the Palatinate, were meerly voluntaries, without his majesties contribution, and defensively intended, before any noise of the invasion.” (l) —After *Frederick*’s misfortune before *Prague*, and when his own territories began to be seized, *James* sent the princes of the union thirty thousand

(f) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 12.

(g) Reliquæ Wottonianæ p. 496.

(b) Id. p.

503.

(i) Id. p.

516.

(k) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 14.

(l) Reliquæ Wottonianæ p. 518.

who most readily and willingly would have assisted

(m) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 18.

thousand pound to keep them in arms, but withall, resolved at the same time to treat of peace. (m) In short tho' an order of council was made for raising money by way of free gift, for the support of the Palatinate, and afterwards the parliament gave a supply for the recovery of it; and the people were disposed zealously to engage in its behalf; yet *James* contented himself with sending embassies to recover it when it was attacked on all sides; and weakly imagined that princes flushed with victory, would hearken to his intreaties, or persuasions. *Doncaster, Wotton, Digby, Weston* and others were sent from time to time, who though men of sense, and able negotiators, could prevail nothing; the Palatinate was taken while they were treating, and they had the mortification of finding themselves laughed at, and contemned, as well as their master who sent them. — That I have not exaggerated matters will appear from the following extracts from *James's* own letters. In a letter to the earl of *Bristol*, dated October 3, 1622, he writes thus: “ There is none knows better than yourself how
“ we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these
“ unfortunate troubles of the empire, notwithstanding
“ all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our
“ dear brother the king of *Spain*, and the whole house
“ of *Austria*, by a long and lingering patience, grounded still upon his friendship, and promises that care
“ should be had of our honor, and of our children, patrimony, and inheritance. We have acquainted you
“ also, from time to time, since the beginning of the
“ treaty at *Bruxels*, how crossly things there have proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made
“ unto us, both by the king of *Spain*, the *Infanta*, and
“ all his ministers, and the letters written by him unto
“ the emperor, and them effectually, (at the least, as
“ they endeavoured to make us believe.) But what
“ fruits have we of these, other than dishonor and
“ scorn? whilst we are treating, the town and castle of
“ *Heidelbergh* taken by force, our garrison put to the
“ sword,

assisted them with all their power. Yea so strongly

“ sword, *Manheim* besieged, and all the hostility used
 “ that is within the power of an enemy.” (n) And in (n) Cabala,
 a letter to the emperor *Ferdinand*, dated November 12, p. 259.
 1621, he complains “ that whilst treaty was in hand,
 “ his son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his
 “ hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, ex-
 “ cepting the lower Palatinate, which was all, says he,
 “ by commandment of your imperial majesty, taken
 “ and possessed by the duke of *Bavaria*, according as
 “ himself confessed, with strong hand and force of arms,
 “ and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such
 “ as the like were never hitherto once heard of. He
 further represents unto him, “ that notwithstanding it
 “ plainly appeared, by the answer given to his ambassa-
 “ dor, that his imperial majesty had caused the suspension
 “ of the bann or proscription in those countries, yet he
 “ permitted the taking of arms again in hand, whereby
 “ there had been raised a most cruel war, and most
 “ part of the country taken in by the Spaniards power-
 “ ful strength.” (o) And as *James* complained, so did (o) Id. p.
 his ambassadors likewise; “ whilst things (says Sir 260.
 “ *Dudley Carleton* to the duke of *Buckingham*, in a let-
 “ ter dated Dec. 13, 1623,) have been held sometimes
 “ in terms, always in talk of accommodation, the elec-
 “ toral is given to *Bavaria* by the emperor, and avowed
 “ by a congratulatory embassage from *Bruxels*: the up-
 “ per Palatinate is settled in his possession, with some
 “ portion to *Newburg*, for his contentation and engage-
 “ ment. A principal part of the lower Palatinate is
 “ given to the elector of *Mentz*, with the consent of
 “ those of *Bruxels*, (where he was lately in person to
 “ obtain it) though they grossly dissemble it, and pro-
 mises of parts of the rest are made to other princes.” (p) (p) Cabala,
 And Sir *Richard Weston*, in a letter from *Bruxels* to 192.
Buckingham; dated Sept. 3, 1622, has the following
 expressions. “ Notwithstanding his majesty hath fol-
 “ lowed them in all their desires, and the prince elec-
 “ tor hath conformed himself to what was demanded;
 that

strongly was this disposition to peace rooted within

“ that the count *Mansfelt*, and duke of *Brunswick*, the
 “ pretended obstacles of the treaty, are now, with-
 “ all their forces removed ; no face of an enemy in the
 “ Palatinate, but his majesty’s power in the garrisons ;
 “ all other places repossessed which *Mansfelt* had taken ;
 “ no cause of continuing any war now, nor any cause of
 “ jealousy or fear, for the future, considering his ma-
 “ jesty’s fair and honourable offers ; yet are they so far
 “ from a cessation, that they are fallen upon *Heidel-
 “ bergh*, and either want the will or power to remove
 “ the siege. And all I can get, is two letters of in-
 “ treaty from her highness to the chiefs of the emperor,
 “ to proceed no further ; and after some eighteen days
 “ since, I made my proposition for the cessation, I have
 “ yet no answer ; so that being able to raise no more
 “ doubts, they make use of delays. I have said, and
 “ done, and used all diligencies within my power to
 “ bring forth better effects, and can go no further ; and
 “ therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship that I may
 “ have leave to return, when I shall hear that they will
 “ not remove the siege at *Heidelberg*. For their pre-
 “ tending to restore all, when all is taken, is a poor
 “ comfort to me, and as little honour to his majesty :
 “ and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be
 “ examined, more exactly than by writing, by weigh-
 “ ing how the weak hopes given me here, agree with
 “ the strong assurances given by my lord *Digby* out of
 “ Spain.” (q)——Thus was *James* treated, as he
 himself says, with scorn and dishonor ; but yet he made
 no efforts to avenge himself or his family, till the break-
 ing off the match with Spain, when twelve regiments
 were rose, and put under the command of the gallant
Mansfield : but these, by an unaccountable weakness or
 neglect, having had no passage stipulated for them,
 through France or Holland, through famine and pesti-
 lence mouldered away, and the design of recovering the
 Palatinate, came to nothing (r)——Thus did *James*
 suffer his son-in-law, his daughter, and his grandchil-
 dren to be driven out from their dominions, without af-
 fording

(q) Cabala,
 p. 402.

(r) Rush-
 worth, Vol.
 I. p. 154.

within him, that though he met with scorn, and derision from those with whom he treated about the Restitution of the Palatinate, and found himself deceived by the emperor, Spaniards, and arch dukes, he still went on to

fording them that relief, and assistance which were necessary. Strange conduct! un-heard of behaviour! but *James* dreaded war, and would submit to any thing rather than engage in it. For even the breaking off the Spanish match, and the raising the regiments under the command of *Mansfield*, were things greatly displeasing to him, and brought about contrary to his inclinations by his *Son*, and his great favourite *Buckingham* (s). And, then he was outwitted by the Spaniards, who made him believe that notwithstanding *Frederick* was overcome, and his affairs in a very desperate condition, yet he need but signify his pleasure about his restitution, and he should be obeyed.

(s) See Clarendon.
Vol. I.
P. 24.

(t) Nor did *James* in the least suspect, but that upon the conclusion of the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain, the restitution of the Palatinate would follow, though he had made no terms in that treaty about it. (u) (u) Id.

(t) Rushworth,
Vol. I.
P. 18.
(u) Id.
P. 91.

“ The count de *Gondomar*, the Spanish ambassador, who had an absolute ascendent over him, gave him to understand, that the king of *Spain* being on the point of giving his daughter to the prince of *Wales*,” (which by the way, he never intended, though his successor, probably, was sincere in the treaty for the match) “ would look on the interest of the *Palatine* prince as his own, and not suffer him to lose the *Palatinate*, that even though the emperor should be master of that country, there was a good way for both sides to come off with honor; for by favour of the marriage, the emperor might make a present of the Palatinate to the infanta, who would give it the prince her husband, and then the prince might restore it to his brother-in-law. *James* took all this to be gospel, as if indeed he had had a positive promise from the emperor

to treat with them, and thereby rendered the affairs of the unfortunate Frederick his son-in-law desperate and deplorable.

Nor was his conduct better in other affairs. He tamely suffered the British flag [MMM] to be affronted, and his merchants ships to be taken

(y) Wel-
wood's me-
moirs, p.
28.

“ peror and the king of *Spain*, that every thing should
“ be done as the ambassador had proposed. This was
“ the reason he was more and more intoxicated with
“ the notion that the best way to save the Palatinate,
“ was to live in a good understanding with the court of
“ *Vienna*, and *Madrid*.” (x) In short, such was the
“ management of *Gondemar* in this affair, and such the
“ weakness of *James*, that in a letter to the duke of
“ *Lerma*, we find the ambassador boasting, “ that he
“ had lulled king *James* so fast asleep, that he hop’d
“ neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor
“ the repeated solicitations of his parliament and sub-
“ jects in their behalf, should be able to awaken
“ him.” (y)

(x) Acta
Regia, p.
549.

I shall only add that the *Palatine* family remained in exile till the year 1648, when by the treaty of *Munster*, they were restored to the best part of their dominions; without having received any considerable helps from the royal house to which they were so nearly allied, during all their misfortunes.

[MMM] He tamely suffered the British flag to be affronted, &c.] Let us hear *Weldon*. “ The earl of
“ *Hertford* who was sent ambassador to the arch-duke,
“ was conveyed over in one of the king’s ships, by Sir
“ *William Monson*. In whose passage a Dutchman of
“ war coming by that ship, would not vaile, as the
“ manner was, acknowledging by that, our sovereignty
“ over the sea. Sir *William Monson* gave him a shot to
“ instruct him in manners; but instead of learning, he
“ taught him by returning another, he acknowledged
“ no

by the Dutch, when trading to the ports of Spain

“ no such sovereignty. This was the very first indignity and affront ever offered to the royal ships of England, which since have been most frequent. Sir William Monson desired my lord of Hertford to go into the hold, and he would instruct him by stripes that refused to be taught by fair means: but the earl charged him on his allegiance first to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend. So to his great regret, he was forced to indure that indignity; for which I have often heard him wish he had been hanged, rather than live that unfortunate commander of a kings ship, to be chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it.” (a)——But, says an admirable writer, speaking of this affair, “ two things are certain; one that queen Elizabeth would have severely punished her officer, and have exacted ample reparation from the states general; the other, that king James did neither. This commonwealth had been raised by queen Elizabeth, and was still in want of the support of England. The sovereignty of her state had not been yet acknowledged by any of the powers of Europe. How much the pacific temper of James was capable of bearing, had not yet become so apparent as he made it in the course of his reign. From all which it is easy to collect that if he had demanded satisfaction, he must and would have received it. But the good prince was afraid, where no fear was, and bore dishonourably what he might have resented safely; nay, what he ought to have resented in any circumstances, and at any hazard. We are not to wonder if so poor a conduct as this, soon brought king James into contempt, mingled with indignation, amongst a people eagerly bent on commerce, and in whom high notions of honour and a gallant spirit had been infused, by the example of queen Elizabeth and encouraged during the whole course of a long reign.” (b)

(a) Wel-
don's court
of king
James, p. 45.

(b) Oldcas-
tle's re-
marks on the
history of
England,
p. 240.

Tho'

Spain or Flanders, though their own, at the
same

Tho what I have related from *Weldon* is probably, true, yet 'tis but justice due to the reader to inform him, that Sir William *Monson* himself, in his *naval tracts*, says nothing of striking or not striking the flag; but confesses that an affront was offered by two Dutch men of war. He adds, that he sent for the captains aboard his ship; that he threatned to right himself upon them; but that he dismissed them at the entreaty of my Lord *Hertford*, on their excusing themselves, and promising to punish the offenders. How severely these offenders were punished, may be collected from hence. One of these captains, says Sir William *Monson*, was he, who since that time, committed a foul murder upon his majesty's subjects in *Ireland*, that were under protection." (c)—

(c) Old-castle's remarks, p. 239, in the note.

But for the honor of the English nation let it be observed, that till the disposition of *James* was known by his subjects, the commanders of our ships acted very differently. For on his accession to the throne, "the duke of *Sully* being chosen by *Henry* the Great of *France*, for an extraordinary embassy into England, embarked at *Calais* in a French ship, with the French flag on the main top mast; but no sooner was he in the channel, than meeting with a yatch which came to receive him, the commander of it commanded the French ship to strike. The duke thinking his quality would secure him from such an affront, refused it boldly; but his refusal being answered with three cannon, shot with bullets, which piercing his ship, pierced the heart of the French: force constrained him to do, what reason ought to have secured him from, and whatever complaints he could make, he could get no other reason from the English captain, than that as his duty obliged him to honor his quality of ambassador, it obliged him also to compel others to pay that respect to his masters flag, which was due to the sovereign of the sea." (d) Thus speaks the famous cardinal *Richlieu*; and *Sully* himself though he tells the story somewhat differently, owns that the English commander

(d) Cardinal Richlieu's political will and testament, part 2d, p. 82. 8vo. Lond. 1695.

det

same time, did it with impunity, and he contented himself with remonstrating, when he ought to have required in a proper manner

der, fired on the French, and obliged him to take down his flag. (e) 'Tis pity the name of this English captain has not been handed down to posterity.—I have said in the text that *James* suffered not only the British flag to be affronted, but his merchants ships to be taken by the Dutch, when trading to the ports of Spain or Flanders. In order to understand this, 'tis necessary to observe, that tho' *James* had made a peace with the Spaniards, the war was continued several years after between them, and the *Hollanders*. Such therefore of the English ships as were found carrying goods to the *Spaniards* and trading with them, were frequently seized under a pretence of their being *contraband*; when they themselves connived at their own subjects doing the same; and consequently were guilty of the greatest insults. Here follow some of my authorities. Lord Cranborne [Cecyle] in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Oct. 23, 1604, tells him, “ we are credibly informed; that the “ States have not only sent new orders to their men of “ war on the coast of Flanders, to impeach our trade “ to the arch dukes ports by all means possible, but also “ to burn all such ships as they shall take of foreign “ princes. And withal are advertised, that many “ of their own people are daily resorting (under colour “ of private licences) to the said ports with all kind of “ victuals and commodities. And that these be no vain “ reports, their daily practice maketh demonstration; “ for on monday last was seven-night, five of their “ ships laden with wine and salt, were seen peaceably to “ go into *Newport*, their men of war riding before the “ harbour; and since likewise, his majesty's admiral “ of the narrow seas, being upon occasion of service “ upon the coast of *Flanders*, did see two *Uliffingers* put “ into *Ostend*, in sight of four of their men of war, “ who never offered them violence. Besides, there

(e) Sully's memoirs, Vol. I. p. 174—178. 'Tis surprising that this gallant action has been overlooked by our historians and even by Burchet, in his naval history.

M

“ are

ner satisfaction. But notwithstanding this treatment, he delivered up to them the cautionary towns, [NNN] which they had deposited

“ are fifteen small fly-boats and pinks of *Holland* laden
 “ with fish, gone this last spring-tide from *Yarmouth*
 “ towards *Newport*, with private licences as they gave
 “ out from the admiralty there.” (f) And it appears
 (f) Win- from a variety of other letters of the same secretary to
 wood, Vol. *Winwood* ambassador in *Holland*, that the Dutch ships
 II. p. 34. never made any scruple of violating the neutrality of our
 ports, and treating even the English after such a manner
 (g) Id. 277. as produced complaints infinite and unsupportable. (g)
 But all these things *James* bore with patience. He
 contented himself with remonstrating, and the Dutch
 understanding his humour, went on pillaging his sub-
 (h) Id. p. 31. jects, often times their utter undoing. (h) To such a
 contemptible pass was this nation brought, in a short
 time, by the cowardice and pusillanimity of its sove-
 reign!

[NNN] He delivered up to them the cautionary towns, &c.] In the year 1585, the States of the *Netherlands* were so greatly distressed by the Spaniards, that they renewed the applications they had formerly made to *Elizabeth*, to accept of the government of the united provinces, and take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies with favour, but at first refused both their protection and government. But *Antwerp* being taken by the prince of *Parma*, she soon afterwards, by the advice of her council, determined to assist them upon condition, among other things, that *Flushing* and the castle of *Rammekins* in *Walkerin*, and the Isle of Brill, with the city and two forts, should be delivered into the queen's hands, for caution to pay back the money which she should expend on her forces, with which she might assist them during the war. It was moreover stipulated that the said places after the money was repaid, should be restored again to the estates, and not delivered to the Spaniards, or any other enemy whatsoever. And also that the governor-general,

ed in the hands of queen *Elizabeth*, for the money

general, and two Englishmen whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of the estates.

(a) Accordingly *Elizabeth* sent the earl of *Leicester* to their aid, had the towns put into her hands, and her governor had a place among the States general; whereby the English had a share in their councils, and they were kept in dependance on them. 'Tis well known with what

(a) Cam-
den's Hist. of
Q. Elizab.
in compleat
Hist. Vol. II.
p. 508.

valour and conduct the Dutch resisted the Spaniards, and by the help of their auxiliaries, rose themselves to an admired and envied State of power, wealth and liberty. *Spain* weary with endeavouring to enslave them, was contented to treat with them as Free-States, and concluded a truce at Antwerp, March 29, 1609. 'Twas then Holland lifted high it's head, and looking on the cautionary towns as manacles and shackles on them, and fearing that *James*, whose meanness of spirit, connexion with the Spaniards, and great want of money were known, might one day deliver them into their enemies hands, as by them he had been requested; 'twas then, I say, that they determined if possible to get them from him, but upon the easiest terms. But this was not to be done in a hurry, they took time, and acted after such a manner, as fully accomplished their purpose. Tho' the towns were garrisoned by the English, the garrison was paid by the Dutch. In order therefore to bring about what they had in view, they ceased, all at once to pay the English garrison, as by treaty they were obliged. Complaints were hereupon made to Sir Noel *Caron*, the Dutch ambassador at London. He excused it by the poverty of his masters; but withal insinuated as from himself, that if his Britannic majesty would desire it of the States, they, out of their regard for him, would take up money at high interest, and at once discharge the whole debt due to the crown of England. *James* listened to the proposal, and wrote about it to the states. By them *Barneveldt* was sent over, who negotiated so ably, that the king agreed to deliver up the

money she had from time to time expended
on

(b) See Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 3. Calabala, p. 206. Acta Regia, p. 523. Coke, Vol. I. p. 52. Howell's letters, p. 16, Lond. 1715, 8vo.

towns for less than three millions of florins, in lieu of eight millions that were due, and about 18 years interest.

(b) This was in May 1616. What the opinion of the world was on this affair, will appear from part of a letter from Sir Thomas *Edmondes*, written from *Paris* the same month, to Sir Ralph *Winwood*. In it he observes that the agreement for the restoring the cautionary towns, was thought strange by the principal persons in the French council, and particularly by *Monf. Villeroy*, who was of opinion, "that no consideration of utility ought to have made his majesty quit so great an interest as he had, for the retaining that people, by that means, in devotion to him; alledging for example that they here, without any such gages, do disburse yearly unto the States, the sum of 200,000 crowns, besides the absolute remittal of twelve or thirteen millions of livres, which they had disbursed for them in the last wars, only to draw that people to a like dependence on this state, as they do on his majesty. Adding also thereunto, that his majesty having ordinarily a greater power over the affections of that people, by the more natural love which they bare unto him, than they here can promise themselves, but only in respect of the present great faction, which they have made by the means of *Monf. Barneveldt*; it seemeth, by the course which we have now taken, that we absolutely quit the advantage to them. Sir Thomas then adds, that those who be his majesty's zealous servants, are sorry to see such a divorce, as they interpret it, between his majesty and that people: and after mentioning the negotiation for a match with Spain, he concludes with saying, I am sorry, that "our necessities (if that be the cause) should carry us to these extremities." (c)——Coke, and *Burnet* in speaking of this affair are guilty of a great mistake. The former supposes it was contrary to the seventh article of the peace made with the Spaniards in the year 1604: (d)

(c) Birch's negotiations of Sir Tho. Edmondes, p. 396.
(d) Coke, Vol. I. p. 53.

And

on her troops in their service, for comparatively a trifling sum; and thereby lost the dependence

And the other says, that *James* after his coming to the crown of England, had entered into secret treaties with Spain, in order to the forcing the States to a peace; one article of which was, that if they were obstinate, he would deliver these places to the Spaniards. (e) But in fact there is just nothing at all in this. The Spaniards in making the treaty in 1604, insisted on having the cautionary towns delivered up to them, upon payment of the moneys due from *Holland*. This was stily denied. Whereupon says secretary *Cecyll*, in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated June 13, 1604, "They are descended to content themselves with some modification, which we have delivered in form of an article, (which may be seen in *Coke*;) wherein, as we do forbear (at their motion) to express that his majesty meaneth not to deliver the said cautionaries, to any other but the states united, so if the modification be well examined, you see it cannot any wise prejudice either his majesty in honor, or the the *States* in their interest in the towns; for as long as the election of good and reasonable conditions for the States pacification, is referred to his majesty's judgment, there can arise no inconveniency of it; it being always in his majesty's hands, to allow or disallow of that, which shall not be agreeable to the concurrency of his affairs with the united provinces." (f) Thus speaks lord *Cecyll* who had the chief hand in this treaty; and upon a careful perusal of the article referred to, I am persuaded he is right; and consequently the above cited historians, as I said, are greatly mistaken.

(e) Burnet, Vol. I. p. 17.

(f) Winwood, Vol. II. p. 23.

The following remark was communicated to me by the reverend Dr. Birch. The account given by Burnet, vol. I. p. 15. Rapin, &c. of Barnevelt's coming over to England to negotiate the purchase of the cautionary towns from king James I. in 1616, is absolutely false; as I cannot find the least trace of it in a series of M.S.

dependence those provinces before had on the English crown. Nor did the cruelties exercised

letters, which I have read between Sir Dudley Carleton, who went over embassador to Holland, in March 1615-16, and the two secretaries of state, Sir Ralph Winwood, and Sir Thomas Lake. The former, Sir Ralph Winwood, in his letters from Whitehall to the embassador, of the 10th of April 1616, mentions, that the lords had delivered their resolutions to the king, that it was more for his majesty's service upon honourable conditions, to render up the towns, than still to retain them; and that his majesty had taken some days to advise of it. Sir Dudley Carleton in his letter to Sir Rich. Winwood from the Hague, of May 3d. complains, that a matter of that great consequence (tho' "it had, says "he, the beginning, before my coming hither, yet "since my arrival, hath had some subject of further "treaty) is altogether managed by the minister of this "state, (Sir Noel Caron) resident with his majesty, "without my having any hand therein." The king's commission to the lords to treat with Sir Noel Caron concerning the surrender of the cautionary towns, is dated May 21, 1616, and that to Sir Horace Vere, to deliver up the Brill, on the 22d.—Sir. R. Winwood, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, on the 23d of May, gives him a particular relation of the proceedings in this treaty, that some years before, during his employment in Holland, Sir Noel Caron in the name of his superiors, made an overture to the king for the reddition of these towns, upon seasonable and honest composition; which being not hearkened unto, it lay asleep, until the month of December, 1615, at which time, Sir Noel being newly returned from his superiors, revived that motion with earnest instance, and for that purpose expressly demanded audience of his majesty. It happened at the self same time, that the governor of these towns delivered to Sir Ralph Winwood, to be exhibited to the lords, a complaint, that the garrison had not received

cised by the *Dutch* on the *English*, at *Amboyna*, [000] and the depriving them of their share

received their pay for many weeks: the danger whereof the lords taking into their consideration, the question was moved by a great counsellor of eminent place, whether it were not better for his majesty's service to render these towns, than still to hold them at so great a charge. Report being made to the king at the rising of the lords, that this question had been moved in council, he acquainted them with the instance of Sir Noel, and then gave them charge to advise and consult thereof, to deliver to him their judgment and resolutions; with which he, after the deliberations of 10 or 12 days concurred for the sale of the towns.

This account is absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of Barnevelt's journey to England, on the affair of the purchase.

Sir Thomas Lake mentions the result of the treaty, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, of the 28th of May, in these words.

“ We have now determined of the return of the cautionary towns, a matter vulgarly ill taken here, and with many of the best. But necessity is of the council. I think your lordship will hear of it by those, that have more hand in it than I.”

[000] The cruelties exercised by the Dutch on the English at Amboyna, &c.] *Amboyna* is an island in the East-Indies, and is the principal place where nutmegs, mace, cinamon, cloves and spice grow. In the year 1619, a treaty was concluded between *James* and the Dutch, with regard to the trade of the East-Indies, in consequence whereof, the English enjoyed part of the spice trade, and greatly enriched themselves. This made them envied by the *Dutch*, who were determined, if possible, to deprive them of the advantages they reaped. A plot, therefore was pretended, in which the English with the assistance of a few *Japonesse* soldiers,

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share of the spice trade, cause him to attempt the vindication of the rights of his people, or punish those who had so vilely treated them.

To

were to seize on the fortress, and put the *Dutch* to the sword: Whereupon they were seized and examined; but stiffly denying the fact, they were tortured most barbarously. This produced (what the rack almost always does produce) a confession; hereupon ten *Englishmen*, seven of whom were agents, factors, and assistants were ordered to be executed, Feb. 1623. six *Japonefe*, and three *natives*, who all uniformly denied their knowledge of the plot to the last moment. The *Dutch* account transmitted to the *English* East-India company, in vindication of this affair, admits that all the evidence they had was obtained by torture, and that those who suffered professed their innocency, a clear proof this that they were condemned wrongfully. For when men of different countries and interests, are accused of joint conspiracy, the denial of every individual at the article of death, amounts with me to the clearest proof of their innocency. However, these executions so terrified the *English*, that they thought they could not safely abide in *Amboyna*; they departed thence therefore, and the *Dutch* very honestly took their effects, to the value of 400,000 pounds. After this the neighbouring spice islands were seized by them, and the *English* wholly dispossessed of their factors and trade, to their incredible loss and damage.

(a) See the hist. of the barbarous cruelties committed by the Dutch in the East Indies, 8vo. Lond. 1712. Coke, Vol. I. p. 96. Wilson, p. 281. Burnett's naval hist. p. 369. Fol. Lond. 1720.

(a) It may well be supposed that an affair of this nature, could not long remain a secret. The news reached England, and sufficient proof was made of the treachery and cruelty of the Dutch in it: and, no doubt, it was expected that reparation would be demanded and obtained. And had *James* made proper representations to the States-General, justice probably would have been done. For no State would openly have abetted such villanies. But he pocketed up the affront; submitted to the injury even without requiring satisfaction; and contented

To all these instances, if we add his permitting his only son, to go into Spain to bring to

contented himself with barely telling the Dutch ambassador, "that he never heard, nor read a more cruel and impious act, than that of *Amboyna*. But, added he, I do forgive them, and I hope God will, but my son's son shall revenge this blood, and punish this horrid massacre." (b) Wretched must be the people who have a prince thus pusillanimous! what can they hope for from those about them, but oppression, insults and injuries? princes owe to their subjects protection; if they afford it not, they have no reason to expect allegiance, nor should they murmur if it is refused.

(b) Coke, Vol. I. p. 97.

By the way, we may observe that *James* was a false prophet, neither his son, nor his son's son, revenged this bloodshed at *Amboyna*, or punished this horrid massacre. But *Cromwell* born to avenge the wrongs of the British nation, and restore her lost glory, effectually did it. For among the conditions on which he gave peace to the Dutch, in April, 1654, it was inserted "that they should deliver up the island of *Polerone*, in the East-Indies (which they had taken from the English in the time of king *James*, and usurped it ever since) into the hands of the English East-India company again; and pay a good sum of money [300,000] for the old barbarous violence, exercised so many years since at *Amboyna*; for which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation." (c) It were to be wished all princes had the honor of their country so much at heart, as it appears from this, and many other instances, *Cromwell* had. Then would their characters truly shine in history, and instead of the disagreeable task of censuring, writers would be emulous of pointing out their excellencies; and their fame would be as lasting as letters. Whereas most princes have been contented with the incense offered them by flatterers, and therefore have seldom endeavoured to procure that solid reputation, which alone results from great and benevolent

(c) Clarendon's hist. Vol. VI. p. 489. and Tindal's notes on *Rapin*, Vol. II. p. 591.

to a conclusion the match [PPP] with the infant,

nevolent actions. By which means their weakneses, or wickedneses fill up their annals, and cause their names to be treated with indignation and contempt.

[PPP] His permitting his only son to go into Spain, &c.] *James* had treated both with France and Spain, for a match with prince *Charles*, tho' he knew well the inconveniences which would arise from his marrying a lady of a different religion. For in his Basilicon Doron, addressed to prince *Henry*, he has the following remarkable passage. "I would ratherest have you to marrie
" one that was fully of your own religion; her rank and
" other qualities being agreeable to your estate: for al-
" though to my great regrate, the number of any
" princes of power and accounts professing our religion,
" be but very small; and that therefore this advice
" seems to be the more strait and difficile: yet ye have
" deeply to weigh, and consider upon these doubts,
" how ye and your wife can be of one flesh, and keep
" unitie betwixt you, being members of two opposite
" churches: disagreement in religion bringeth ever
" with it, disagreement in manners; and the dissen-
" tion betwixt your preachers and hers, will breed and
" foster a dissention among your subjects, taking
" their example from your family; besides the peril
" of the evil education of your children. Neither
" pride you that ye will be able to make her as ye
" please: that deceived *Solomon* the wisest king that ever
" was." (a) There is sense in this passage; and yet

(a) K. Jam.
works, p.
172.

(b) Birch's
view of the
negotiations,
&c. p. 393.

the writer of it never attempted to match either of his sons with a protestant princess. The eldest, prince *Henry*, he endeavoured to marry with a daughter of *France* or *Savoy*; the youngest, prince *Charles*, as I have just observed, with *France* or *Spain*. With *France* the negotiations were broke off for that purpose, and those with *Spain* commenced about the year 1616. (b) But for several years the Spaniards had no other end in enter-

fantia, we shall perhaps be fully satisfied of the weakness of his conduct.

No

entertaining the negotiations, but to amuse *James* and hinder him from concerning himself in the business of *Cleves*, or effectually succouring the *Palatinate*. This appears plainly from the king of Spain's letter to Conde *Olivares*, dated Nov. 5, 1622. (c) However, it seems probable, that afterwards the Spaniards intentions were sincere for the match, and that a short space of time would have compleated it. For matters had been carried to such a length, and *James* had yielded to all their proposals so readily, that they could not well refuse to conclude it. This match was odious to the body of the English nation, and the parliament advised the breaking off the treaty. (d) But *James* gave them a severe reprimand for their advice, and determined not to comply with it. He longed for the Spanish gold, (two millions, but of what value appears not) which the infanta was to bring with her, and was in hopes of getting the restitution of the *Palatinate*: and therefore, proceeded with zeal and earnestness.——While things were in this state, the prince persuaded by *Buckingham*, had an inclination to see and wooe his mistress. They opened it to the king, and he, after much opposition, being bullied into it by *Steney*, (e) complied;) to the amazement of the whole world. For it was an unparalleled thing to see “ the only son of a king, the heir of the kingdom, hazard himself in such a long voyage, and carry himself rather as an hostage than a spouse, to a court of contrary maxims of religion and state, humbly to supplicate for a wife.” (f) What was this but exposing him to the danger of imprisonment, the solicitations of jesuits, the importunities of the romish clergy, and thereby exciting fears and terrors in the minds of the subject, and make them draw the worst conclusions possible? yea, what was this but to put it in the power of the Spaniards, to insist on what terms they thought fit, and cause him to execute them, they having

(c) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 71.

(d) Id. p. 42.

(e) See lord Clarendon, Vol. I. p. 11—18.

(f) Nani's hist. of Venice, p. 196. fol. Lond. 1673.

No wonder then that he was burlesqued, ridiculed, and exposed abroad, by those who

ing the person of the prince thus in their power? And how weak and imprudent must it be, to take a step of this nature, without so much as communicating it to the council, and taking their advice on it? What was easily to be foreseen, happened. “ The change of his
 “ religion, (prince *Charles*’s) was much hoped for by
 “ the court of Spain, at this first coming thither. To
 “ perfect which, he was plied from time to time with
 “ many persuasive arguments, by many persons of great
 “ honor about the king: and many of the most learned
 “ priests and jesuits made their addresses to him, with
 “ such rhetorical orations, with such insinuating artifices, and subtle practices, as if they had a purpose
 “ rather to conquer him by kindness than by disputation.—The pope also addressed his lines unto the
 “ prince, extolling the piety of his predecessors, their
 “ zeal unto the catholic church, and to the head thereof
 “ the pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of
 “ art, to put himself upon following of their brave examples. Never a prince had a harder game to play,
 “ than prince *Charles* had now. He found himself under the power of the King of Spain, and knew that
 “ the whole business did depend on the popes dispensation, with whom if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be frustrate, and all
 “ the fruits of that long treaty would be suddenly
 “ blasted. He therefore writes unto the pope in such
 “ general terms, as seemed to give his holiness some assurances of him: but being reduced into particulars,
 “ signified nothing else but some civil complements,
 “ mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make
 “ up the breaches in the church, and restore Christendom to an happy and desirable peace.—In England the king had as hard a game to play. For having left such a pawn in Spain, he was in a manner
 “ bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gratify

who observed his conduct; and that he was spoken of most contemptuously, even by

“ tify the popish party in this kingdom with more than
 “ ordinary favour. He knew no marriage could be
 “ made without the pope’s dispensation, and that the
 “ pope’s dispensation could not be obtained, without
 “ indulging many graces to his catholic subjects. To
 “ smoothe his way therefore to the point desired, he ad-
 “ dressed several letters to the pope and cardinals, in
 “ which he gives him the title of *most holy father*; (g) (g) See a let-
 “ and employs *Gage* as his agent in the court of Rome, ter in Caba-
 “ to attend the business. At home he dischargeth all la, from
 “ such priests and jesuits as had been formerly imprison- James, to
 “ ed; inhibiting all processses, and superseding all pro- Gregory
 “ ceedings against recusants; and in a word, suspends XVth. on
 “ the execution of such penal laws as were made against this occasion,
 “ them. p. 412.

“ The people hereupon began to cry out generally of
 “ a tolleration, and murmur in all places, as if he were
 “ resolved to grant it.” (b) See here some of the ef- (b) Heylin’s
 fects of this weak expedition. The same prince who life of Laud,
 was for proving to the duke of *Sully*, that it was an of- p. 109, III.
 fence against God, to give the title of holiness to any o-
 ther than him, now very freely gives it to the pope: (i) See note
 (i) and the man who had proclaimed aloud in his wri- [KX]
 ting, that the pope was anti-christ, now dignifies him
 with the title of most holy father. But *James*, I fancy
 had forgot to blush, or he could hardly have thus pub-
 licly contradicted himself. However, fortune favour-
 ed prince *Charles* in freeing him from the dangers, into
 which this absurd and romantic voyage brought him.
 He got through France, though pursued after; and by
 the honor and generosity of the Spaniards, was permit-
 ted to return safe into England, where by the instigation
 of *Buchingham*, he set himself in an abrupt and ungra-
 cious manner to break off the treaty of marriage, and
 earnestly endeavoured to engage the nation in a war
 with Spain, in which he was successful. But ’tis very
 observable,

by his best friends, Maurice prince of *Orange*, and *Henry* the Great of *France*, [QQQ] as well

observable, "that the reason given for breaking the match
 " was not the true one. The restitution of the *Palati-*
 " *nate* had been very coolly pressed, not to say neglect-
 " ed, even whilst the prince was at *Madrid*; and yet
 " after he came from thence, the king of Spain had
 " signed an act by which he engaged for this restitution;
 " so that on the principles on which this negotiation had
 " been conducted, there seemed to have been no reason
 " for breaking it off, given by Spain at the time, when
 " it was broken." (k)—I will conclude this note by ob-
 serving, that I do not remember any one writer, who
 has thought this journey of prince *Charles* into Spain,
 prudent or justifiable, and consequently *James* could
 not but be blame worthy for permitting it. For he
 ought not to have been overcome by the solicitations of
 his son, much less by the rudeness and insolence of
Buckingham. He should have adhered to what he could
 not but see to be for the interest of the State, and not
 have given it up to please son or favourite. But he
 weakly gave way to them, and thereby exposed those
 most dear to him to the greatest dangers, and involved
 himself in such difficulties as exposed him to the ridicule
 of foreigners, and the contempt and ill-will of his sub-
 jects.

(k) Old-
 castle's re-
 marks, p.
 299.

[QQQ] He was ridiculed abroad, and contemptuou-
 ly spoken of, by *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and *Henry*
 the Great of *France*.] In Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* ghost,
 written in 1620, [not 1622, as in the printed copy,]
 we find him introduced speaking to *Gondomar*, a fryar
 and a jesuit, concerning the cruel representations that
 had been made of some of our princes, since the refor-
 mation, by the Spaniards in their pictures. And after
 having spoken of their painting *Henry VIII.* naked;
 without a grave, as if a heretic were not worthy to be
 buried; of the picture of *Elizabeth*, who was used as
 bad

well as by his subjects, who could not with-
out

bad by them for the same reason, and because she was their mortal foe; after having spoken of these, he adds, "but to come to his majesty, (king James) what have you done by him even of late days? in one place you picture him with a scabbard without a sword; in another, with a sword so fast in his scabbard, that no body could draw it. In *Brussels* you made him in his hose doublet; his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in his purse. In *Antwerp* you painted the queen of Bohemia like an Irish *Glibbin*, her hair dishevelled, a child at her back, and in a mantle, with the king (her father) carrying the cradle for her." (a)——In the year 1609, was the truce

(a) Sir Walter Rawleigh's ghost, in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 323, London 1732, 4to. and Wilson, p. 192. Oldys, p. 111.

concluded between Spain and the united provinces; under the mediation of James and Henry the fourth of France. During the negotiations great complaints were made of the partiality of James towards the Spaniards, by the French ministers to their master; how justly I shall not determine. But in answer to a letter from one of his ambassadors, Henry writes "that he knew James's ill intentions towards the States; and withal tells him, his carriage did not break his sleep; ending his letter with this word of contempt, rarely used among princes of that rank, I know his capacity and the inclinations of his subjects." (b) And the same Henry, when one called "James a second Solomon," replied, that he hoped he was not David the fidler's son." (c)——Nor had *Mamrice* prince of Orange any better opinion of him, than the most christian king, as will appear from the following curious relation.

(b) Compleat hist. Vol. II. p. 683, in the notes.

(c) Osborn, p. 511. see note [A]

Sir Ralph Winwood being present in the council of State, where the sincerity of the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* in the treaty [for the truce,] was questioned by the prince, told his highness, that, notwithstanding, he thought it the interest of the republic to go on with it, because if the arch dukes should at last refuse to comprehend the king of *Spain*, as well as themselves, an eternal

nal

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out indignation behold the empty, insignificant

nal dishonor would light upon them, and the two kings of *England* and *France* would have more reason to assist the States. The prince took him up briskly with these words, we will not go plead a process before the Kings: and le Roi vostre maistre n'ose pas parler au Roi d'Espagne, (and the king your master dares not speak to the king of Spain.) Sir Ralph answered,

Monfieur, vous avez tort: le Roi mon maitre a & resolution de se ressentir, & puissance de se revenger du Roi & prince qui se soit. (Sir, you are mistaken. The king, my master, hath both spirit to resent an injury, and power to avenge himself on any king, or prince that shall offer it.) The prince replied,

Comment s'est-il senti de la trahison du poudre? (How did he resent the gun-powder plot?) Sir Ralph rejoined,

Comment sçavez-vous, qui le roy d'Espagne s'y soit mêlé? (How do you know that the king of Spain had any hand in that affair.) Owen en a été. (*Owen* had) said the prince,

Lequel on a demandé; & le Comte de Tyrone est soutenu par le roi d'Espagne. (Whom they have in vain required the king of Spain to deliver up; and the earl of *Tyrone* 'tis notorious is supported by him.) Sir Ralph replied,

Quant à Owen, ce n'est pas à vous, à qui le roi mon maistre en rendra conte: & pour Tyrone, tout le monde sçait qu'il est à Rome, & non pas en Espagne. (As for *Owen*, his majesty is not accountable to you for his behaviour in regard of him; and for *Tyrone*, all the world knows he is at Rome and not in Spain.)

(d) Birchs's
view of the
negotiations,
&c. p. 286.

(d) *Owen* here spoken of by the prince, had been demanded of the arch-dukes and the king of Spain, to be delivered

cant figure the nation was reduced to by his manage-

livered up by Sir Thomas Edmondes, being charged with being privy to the gun-powder plot; and *Tyrone* who had fled out of Ireland, upon account of his attempting a rebellion, had been asked of them likewise, but both unsuccessfully. Indeed they were both carressed by the Spaniards; and *Tyrone* in particular, tho' he resided at Rome as *Winwood* said, had a pension of six hundred crowns a month from the king of Spain, and therefore the interest of *James* was justly deemed insignificant at the Spanish court, by prince *Maurice*. (e) 'Tis true, upon complaint of the English court, prince *Maurice* in a very respectful letter, endeavoured to mollify *James's* anger; and afterwards in a second letter he acknowledged his offence, and cleared himself in the best manner he could, from any malicious intention to impeach his majesty's service, or asperse his character. But 'tis easy enough to see that his apologies arose from the situation of his affairs, and that what in warmth he had spoken, he indeed thought.—Let us then conclude, that *James's* best friends, as I observed in the text, spoke most contemptuously of him; for such *Henry* and *Maurice* were.—If we would know further in what esteem *James* was with his neighbours, the following epigram made in France will in some measure, perhaps satisfy us.

(e) See
Birches's
negotiations,
p. 249, 275.

“ Tandis qu' *Elizabeth* fut Roy,
“ L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy.
“ Maintenant, devise et caquette,
“ Regi par la Reine *Jaquette*.

That is literally in English.

Whilst *Elizabeth* was king,
The English were of Spain the terror.
But now governed by *Queen Jaquet*,
They only talk and prattle.

N

Or

management, and the scofs and jeers where-
with they were insulted by their neighbours.

But

Or if the reader likes it better in rhyme, it is given
in English, thus:

While *Elizabeth* was England's King,
That dreadful name through Spain did ring,
How alter'd is the case,——ad sa' me!

These jugling days of *gude Queen Jamie!* (f)

(f) Rapin,
Vol. II. p.
236. and
Morgan's
phænix Bri-
tannicus, p.
324.

(g) Sully's
memoirs,
Vol. I. p.
209. Edit
of Nantz,
Vol. I. p.
452.

And that it may not be imagined that libellers and saty-
rists only contemned *James*, and represented him in a
more ridiculous light than they ought, I will add, that
the grave and knowing duke of *Sully*, tells us that *Henry*
in derision, called *James* captain of arts and clark of
arms; (g) and that he himself and his brother, had spo-
ken in terms not very respectful of him.

Nor did his own people come behind in ridiculing and
censuring his conduct. “ They mouthed out that
“ Great Britain was become less than little England;
“ that they had lost strength by changing sexes, and
“ that he was no king but a fidlers son, otherwise he
“ would not suffer such disorders at home, and so much
“ dishonor abroad.——And they say further, why
“ should he assume to himself the title of defender of
“ the faith, that suffers the protestants of Germany,
“ and France to be extirpated. That he might almost
“ have purchased such a country as the Palatinate, with
“ the money spent on ambassages; and that his promis-
“ ing the French protestants assistance (by their agents
“ that interceeded for them) made them the more re-
“ solute, and confident to their ruin: So that they
“ might well call England the land of promise. And
“ all that he got by his lip-labour assistance from the
“ French king was, that his ambassador, Sir Edward
“ *Herbert* was snapt up by *Luynes* the young constable,
“ and favourite there, with what hath your master to
“ do with us and our business? Whereas the English

“ fleets

But however weak and pusillanimous *James's* conduct was abroad, at home he behaved very haugh-

“ fleets, the glory of the world, (if employed) would
 “ have taught the French pride to know, that a looker
 “ on sees more than the gamester, and he that strikes
 “ with passion, will many times thank them that take
 “ him off by friendly admonition, such discourses as
 “ these flew up and down from lip to lip, that it was al-
 “ most treason to hear much more to speak.” (b)—How (b) *Wilson*,
 weakly, how imprudently must a prince have behaved P. 190.
 to have drawn on himself such bitter reflections, and
 cutting sarcasms both at home and abroad? how mean
 a figure must he have made, and with what contempt
 must his promises and threatnings be received? It could
 not be ill-will, it could not be malice, or the love of
 slander alone, which could bring on a regal character
 so much contempt when living: There must have been
 foolish wretched management, as we have seen there was,
 to render it passable. But of all things, princes should
 dread falling into contempt: seeing that thereby their
 reputation, and consequently their power ceases, and
 they are rendered incapable of executing any great de-
 sign. For as cardinal *Richlieu* has well observed, “ re-
 “ putation is the more necessary in princes, in that
 “ those we have a good opinion of, do more by their
 “ bare words, than those who are not esteemed with
 “ armies. They are obliged to value it beyond life;
 “ and they ought sooner to venture their fortune and
 “ grandeur, than to suffer the least breach to be made
 “ in the same, since it is most certain that the least di-
 “ minution a prince receives, tho’ never so slight, is
 “ the step which is of most dangerous consequence for
 “ his ruin. In consideration of which I declare freely,
 “ that princes ought never to esteem any profit advan-
 “ tagious, when it reflects the least upon their honour:
 “ and they are either blinded or insensible to their true
 “ interests, if they receive any of this nature. And in-
 “ deed history teaches us, that in all times and in all
 “ States, princes of great reputation are always happier
 N 2 “ than

haughtily. He valued himself much on his hereditary right, and lineal descent, [RRR] to

(i) Rich-
lieu's politi-
cal testa-
ment, part
2d. p. 46.

“ than those, who being inferior to them in that point,
“ have surpassed them in force and riches, and in all
“ other power.” (i) Pity it is but princes knew what
was said of them! if they had any thirst after fame, any
desire of real glory, it would excite them to direct their
actions to the good of the public, and it would make
them weigh and consider things so, as that their resolu-
tions might appear to be the result of prudence and dis-
cretion. If they will not act thus, but blindly follow
their own whims and humours, or submit to be led by
weak, ignorant, self-seeking men, as was the case of
James; they may depend on it that tho’ flattery mounts
up their imaginary excellencies to the clouds, and repre-
sents them as demy-gods for power and wisdom, stan-
ders by will laugh at them, and posterity expose and
condemn them.

(a) King
James’s
works, p.
485.

(b) Id. p.
487, 488.

[RRR] He valued himself much on his hereditary
right and lineal descent.] In his first speech to the par-
liament, March 19, 1603, he tells them that the first
reason of his calling them together was, “ that they
“ might with their own ears hear him deliver unto
“ them the assurance of his thankfulness, for their so
“ joyful and general applause, to the declaring and re-
“ ceiving of him in that seat, which God by his birth-
“ right and lineal descent, had in the fulness of time
“ provided for him.” (a) And in other parts of the
same speech, he speaks of his lineal descent out of the
“ loins of *Henry* the seventh;” and of his being “ li-
“ neally descended of both the crowns” (b) (of England
and Scotland.) One should have thought an English
parliament should have stared at hearing such an unusual
language from the throne. But such was the complai-
sance they had for their new king, and so willing were
they to make their court to him, that they spoke in
like terms with him, and echoed back, not as has
some-

to the crown, and talked of it in most pompous

sometimes been done in an address, but in an act of parliament his words and sentiments on this subject. For in the first act of parliament passed in this reign, intituled a "most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, "lawful and undoubted succession, descent and right "of the crown," we find the following expressions. "Your majesty's royal person, who is lineally, right- "fully, and lawfully descended of the body of the most "excellent lady *Margaret*, eldest daughter of the most "renowned king *Henry* the seventh, and they therein "desire it may be published and declared in the high "court of parliament, and enacted by authority of the "same, that they (being bounden thereunto both by "the laws of God and man) do recognize and acknow- "ledge that immediately upon the dissolution and de- "cease of *Elizabeth*, late queen of England, the im- "perial crown of the realm of England, and of all the "kingdoms, dominions and rights belonging to the "same did by *inherent Birthright*, and lawful and un- "doubted succession, descend and come unto his most "excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and law- "fully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this "realm." (c) This was complaisance indeed! and

this together with their ascribing to him in the same act, "the rarest gifts of mind and body," and acknowledg- ing "his great wisdom, knowledge, experience, and "dexterity," could hardly help rivetting in his mind, his absurd opinions, and high self-estimation.

I call his notions of hereditary right, and lineal descent absurd. For I know of no right that any person has to succeed another in wearing a crown, but what the laws give him; if he is by law appointed the next heir, his right to succeed is built upon the most stable foundation. But the laws relating to the succession may be changed, according as the exigencies of the state and the public good require; and if by such a change any person or family is set aside from succeeding, the right

(c) Vid. stat. anno primo Jacobi c. 1. pertotum.

pous terms, tho' nothing could be more absurd and chimærical.

In

they might before have had vanishes, and without usurpation cannot take place. When that political law (says a justly admired writer) which has established in "the kingdom a certain order of succession, becomes "destructive to the body politic for whose sake it was "established, there is not the least room to doubt but "another political law may be made to change this order; and so far would this law be from opposing the "first, it would in the main be entirely conformable to "it, since both would depend on this principle, that, "the safety of the people is the supreme law." (d)—— And indeed this hereditary right to the crown, here boasted of by *James*, was "a meer chimera; contradicted by the general tenor of custom from the Norman invasion to his time; by the declared sense of "his immediate predecessors; by many solemn proceedings of parliament, and by the express terms of law. "——Two families (for the race of *Plantagenet* was "grafted on the *Norman* race, and they may be reckoned properly as one) had furnished, indeed, all "our kings; but this constituted no *hereditary right*. "When a prince of the royal family, but in a degree "remote from the succession, comes to the crown, in "prejudice to the next heir, hereditary right is violated, "as really as it would be if an absolute stranger to this "family succeeded. Such a prince may have another "and we think a better right, that for instance, which "is derived from a settlement of the crown, made by "the authority of parliament; but to say he hath an "hereditary right is the grossest abuse of words imaginable. This we think so plain, that we should be "ashamed to go about to prove it.——Our kings of the "*Norman* race, were so far from succeeding as next "heirs to one another, and in a regular course of descent, that no instance can be produced of the next "heirs succeeding, which is not preceded and followed "by instances of the next heirs being set aside.——

" Thus

(d) Spirit of
Laws, Vol.
II. p. 218.
Lond. 1750.
8vo.

In consequence hereof he entertained high notions

“ Thus *Edward* the first succeeded his father *Henry the*
 “ *third*; but his father *Henry the third*, and his grand-
 “ father *John*, had both been raised to the throne, in
 “ plain defiance of *hereditary right*: the right of *Ar-*
 “ *thur*, nephew to *John*, and the right of *Arthur’s*
 “ sister, cousin-german to *Henry*.——*Edward the*
 “ *second* succeeded his father *Edward the first*; but
 “ *Edward the third* deposed *Edward the second*;
 “ the parliament renounced all allegiance to him; and
 “ *Edward the third* held the crown by a parliamentary
 “ title, as much as *William the third*.——If we go
 “ up higher than this æra, or descend lower, we shall
 “ find the examples uniform. Examples, sufficient to
 “ countenance this pretension of hereditary right to the
 “ crown of England, are no where to be found.——
 “ The *British* race began in *Henry the seventh*; and
 “ from him alone king *James* derived that right, which
 “ he asserted in such pompous terms. Now surely, if
 “ ever any prince came to the crown without the least
 “ colour of *hereditary right*, it was *Henry the seventh*.
 “ He had no pretence to it, even as heir to the house of
 “ *Lancaster*. His wife might have some as heir of the
 “ house of *York*; but the title of his wife had no re-
 “ gard paid to it either by him or the parliament, in
 “ making this new settlement. He gained the crown
 “ by the good will of the people. He kept it by the
 “ confirmation of parliament, and by his own ability.
 “ The notional union of the *two roses* was a much bet-
 “ ter expedient for quiet than foundation of right. It
 “ took place in *Henry the eighth*; it was continued in
 “ his successors; and this nation was willing it should
 “ continue in *James* and his family. But neither
 “ *Henry the eighth*, nor his son *Edward the sixth*, who
 “ might have done so with much better grace, laid the
 “ same stress on hereditary right, as king *James* did.
 “ One of them had recourse to parliament on every
 “ occasion, where the succession to the crown was
 “ concerned; and the other made no scruple of giving
 “ the

notions of the prerogative, and carried the doctrine

“ the crown by will to his cousin, in prejudice of his
 “ sisters right. This right however, such as it was,
 “ prevailed; but the authority of parliament was called
 “ in aid by *Mary*, to remove the objection of illegiti-
 “ macy, which lay against it. *Elizabeth* had so little
 “ concern about hereditary right, that she neither held,
 “ nor desired to hold her crown by any other tenure
 “ than the statute of the 35 of her father’s reign. In
 “ the 13th of her own reign, she declared it by law
 “ high treason, during her life, and a *Præmunire*, af-
 “ ter her decease, to deny the power of parliament, in
 “ limiting and binding the descent and inheritance of
 “ the crown, or the claims to it; and whatever private
 “ motives there were for putting to death *Mary*,
 “ queen of *Scotland*, her claiming a right, in opposi-
 “ tion to an act of parliament, was the foundation of
 “ the public proceedings against her.

“ Such examples as we have quoted, ought to have
 “ some weight with king *James*. A prince who had
 “ worn the crown of *Scotland*, under so many restraints,
 “ and in so great penury, might have contented him-
 “ self one would think, to hold that of *England*,
 “ whose pensioner he had been, by the same tenure,
 “ and to establish his authority on the same principles,
 “ as had contented the best and greatest of his *Predeces-*
 “ *sors*; but his designs were as bad as those of the very
 “ worst princes, who went before him.” (e) The good
 sense and unanswerable reasoning in this quotation will
 make ample amends for the length of it, and therefore
 needs no apology. But ’tis amazing to consider that
 notwithstanding such facts and reasonings there
 should yet be found people weak enough to hold this
 doctrine of hereditary right, a doctrine absurd in itself,
 and big with mischief. Did men but think and con-
 sider, did they weigh and examine, were they honest
 and impartial, they soon would see its folly and ridicule
 it. But such is the laziness of mankind, that they are
 at

(e) Old-
 castle’s Re-
 marks, p.
 241.

See also the
 brief history
 of the suc-
 cession, in
 the State
 tracts,
 relating to
 the times of
 Charles the
 2d. and Sir
 John Haw-
 les’s speech
 at the tryal
 of Sacheve-
 ral.

doctrine of the regal power, [sss] to a pitch
was

at all times inclined more to believe on trust, than to take the pains to consider; and therefore run into the most whimsical, and ridiculous opinions. Princes may think it their interest to have such a doctrine as this inculcated; but the teachers of it ought to be looked upon as the foes of mankind, and had in abhorrence by those, to whom liberty and virtue are amiable.

[sss] He entertained high notions of the prerogative, and carried the doctrine of the regal power to a very great pitch.] *James* as I have observed was bred up under *Buchanan*, whose hatred of tranny is well known, and who like a very honest man endeavoured to inspire his pupil with a detestation of it; and he seemed to have had some hopes, that his labours would not have been wholly vain. For in the conclusion of his short dedication to *James*, of his *Baptistes, sive calumni tragoedia*, among his poetical works there are the following expressions.——“ *Illud autem peculiarius ad te videri potest spectare, quod tyrannorum cruciatus, & cum florere maxime videntur, miserias dilucide exponat. Quod te nunc intelligere non conducibile modo, sed etiam necessarium existimo: ut mature odisse incipias, quod tibi semper est fugiendum. Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse. Det dominus meliora, & quod est apud tuum salustium, tibi bene facere ex consuetudine in naturam vertat. Quod equidem cum multis & spero, & opto. Sterlino, ad Calend. Novembris, 1576.*” i. e. “But this more especially seems to belong to you, which explains the torments and miseries of tyrants, even when they seem to be in the most flourishing state, which I esteem not only advantageous, but even necessary for
“ you

was amazingly great, and bordering on impiety.

“ you now to understand : that you may begin early to
 “ hate, what you should always avoid. I desire also
 “ that this book may be a witness to posterity, that if
 “ at any time you act otherwise, by the influence of
 “ wicked counsellors, or the wantonness of power
 “ getting the better of education, you may impute it
 “ not to your præceptors, but to yourself that slighted
 “ their good advice.——God grant you a better fate,
 “ and (as your favourite sallust has it) render benefi-
 “ cence natural to you by custom. Which I sincerely
 “ wish, and hope with many others.”

James was little more than ten years of age when this was written to him. Two years afterwards *Buchanan* dedicated his celebrated piece intituled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, to *James*, in which he tells him, “ that
 “ he thought good to publish it, that it might be a
 “ standing witness of his affection towards him, and
 “ admonish him of his duty towards his subjects. Now
 “ many things, adds he, persuaded me that this my en-
 “ deavour should not be in vain : especially your age
 “ not yet corrupted by prave opinions, and inclina-
 “ tion far above your years for undertaking all heroi-
 “ cal and noble attempts, spontaneously making haste
 “ thereunto ; and not only your promptitude in obey-
 “ ing your instructors and governors, but all such as
 “ give you sound admonition ; and your judgment and
 “ diligence in examining affairs, so that no man’s
 “ authority can have much weight with you, unless it
 “ be confirmed by probable reason. I do perceive also
 “ that you by a certain natural instinct do so much ab-
 “ hor flattery, which is the nurse of tyranny, and a
 “ most grievous plague of a kingdom ; so as you do hate
 “ the court solecisms and barbarisms, no less, than those
 “ that seem to censure all elegancy, do love and affect
 “ such things, and every where in discourse spread
 “ abroad, as the sawce thereof those titles of majesty,
 “ highness, and many other unfavoury compellations.
 “ Now

piety. Nor could he with any patience bear that

“ Now albeit your good natural disposition, and sound
 “ instructions, wherein you have been principled, may
 “ at present draw you away from falling into this error,
 “ yet I am forced to be something jealous of you, lest
 “ bad company, the fawning foster mother of all vices
 “ draw aside your soft and tender mind into the worst
 “ part; especially seeing I am not ignorant, how easily
 “ our other senses yield to seduction. This book there-
 “ fore I have sent unto you, to be not only your moni-
 “ tor, but also an importunate and bold exactor which
 “ in this your flexible and tender years, may conduct
 “ you in safety from the rocks of flattery, and not only
 “ may admonish you, but also keep you in the way you
 “ are once entered into: and if at any time you deviate,
 “ it may reprehend and draw you back, the which if
 “ you obey, you shall for yourself and for all your sub-
 “ jects, acquire tranquility and peace in this life, and
 “ eternal glory in the life to come. Farewel, from
 “ Sterveling, Jan. 10, 1579.” (a)

(a) Dedi-
 cation of
 Buchanan
 de jure regni
 apud Scotos,
 in English,
 4to. Lond.
 1689,

I have been forced to give this in the words of a trans-
 lation, for want of an opportunity of turning to the
 original; which the good-natured reader, I hope, will
 pardon. In these dedications we may see the endeavors
 and hopes of *Buchanan*, which I have just mentioned,
 of inspiring his pupil with a detestation of tyranny.
 But his hopes were ill-founded, his endeavours were in-
 effectual. *James* hated the man who counselled him,
 and spoke a doctrine directly contrary unto that taught
 by him. (b) What he writ on this subject when in
 Scotland, we have before mentioned. (c) He there in-
 culcated the doctrine of tyranny, and in England he
 continued to avow it, and that even before the parlia-
 ment itself. In his speech to the lords and commons at
 Whitehall, Anno 1609, we have the following passage.
 “ King’s are justly called Gods, for that they exercise
 “ a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth:
 “ for if you will consider the attributes of God, you
 “ shall

(b) See note
 [B]
 (c) In note
 [RR]

that any should assert it's being liable to be contradicted or controuled. He treated his

“ shall see how they agree in the person of a king.
 “ God hath power to create or destroy, make, or un-
 “ make at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to
 “ judge all, and to be judged, nor accomptable to none:
 “ to raise low things, and to make high things low at
 “ his pleasure. and to God are both soul and body due:
 “ and the like power have kings: they make and un-
 “ make their subjects; they have power of raising, and
 “ casting down; of life and of death; judges over all
 “ their subjects, and in all causes; and yet *accomptable*
 “ *to none but God only*. They have power to exalt low
 “ things, and abase high things, and make of their sub-
 “ jects like men at chess; a pawne to take a bishop or
 “ a knight, and to cry up, or down any of their sub-
 “ jects, as they do their money. And to the king is
 “ due both the affection of the soul, and the service of

(d) K. Jam.
works, p.
529.

“ the body of his subjects.” (d) And in the same speech
 are the following words. “ I conclude then this point
 “ touching the power of kings, with this axiom of divi-
 “ nity, that as to dispute what God may do, is blas-
 “ phemie; but *quid vult deus*, that divines may law-
 “ fully, and do ordinarily dispute and discusse; for to
 “ dispute a *posse ad esse* is both against logicke and divi-
 “ nitie: so is it sedition in subjects, to dispute what a
 “ king may do in the height of his power.” (e) These
 passages shall suffice to shew *James's* notions of the regal
 power; their opposition to those of his præceptor;
 and that lord *Bolingbroke* was very much mistaken in
 saying that “ *James* retailed the scraps of *Buchanan*.”

(e) Id. p.
531.

(f) Letters
on the spirit
of patriotism
p. 216.

(f) I thought to have concluded this note here, but I find
 it proper to add that *James* had the utmost indignation
 against those who held that princes were accountable, or
 controulable. This appeared from his citing a preacher
 before him from *Oxford*, who had asserted that the in-
 ferieur majestrate had a lawful power to order and cor-
 rect

his parliaments in many cases most contemptuously [T T T] both by words and actions ; giving

rect the king if he did amiss ; and who for the illustration of his doctrine, had used that speech of *Trajan* unto the captain of his guard ; *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me si bene imperavero distringes ; sin minus contra me ; i. e. receive this sword, which I would have thee use for my defence if I govern well ; but if I rule the empire ill, to be turned against me.* The preacher of this doctrine being strictly examined by the king concerning it, laid the blame on *Pareus*, who in his commentary on the Romans, had positively delivered all which he had vented in his sermon, even to that very saying of the emperor *Trajan*. Whereupon the king, tho' he dismissed the preacher, on account of his youth, and the authority he had produced, gave order to have the book of *Pareus* burnt in Oxford, London and Cambridge ; which was done accordingly. (g) So high was *James's* opinion of regal power, so ill could he bear opposition to it, tho' in a foreigner, and one with whom he had nothing to do !

(g) Heylin's life of Laud, p. 95.

[T T T] He treated his parliaments in many cases most contemptuously] here follow my proofs. In his speech to the parliament in 1605, speaking of the house of commons, he tells them, that “ that was not a place for every rash and hair-brained fellow to propose new laws of his own invention.” that “ they should be warie not to propose any bitter or seditious laws, which could produce nothing but grudges and discontentments between the prince and his people ; and that it was no place for particular men to utter their private conceits, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make shew of their eloquence, by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent orations.” (a) And he adds just afterwards, “ that men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting

(a) K. Jam. works, p. 506. 507.

giving himself extraordinary airs of wisdom and

“ detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in
 “ breaking jests upon their fellows, for which the ordi-
 “ naries or ale-houses are fitter places, than this ho-
 “ nourable and high court of parliament.”

In his speech to the parliament at Whitehall, in the year 1609, he “ wishes the commons to avoid three
 “ things in matters of grievances.

“ First, says he, that you do not meddle with the
 “ main points of government; that is my craft. trac-
 “ tent fabrilia fabri; to meddle with that were to
 “ lesson me: I am now an old king; for six and thirty
 “ years have I governed in *Scotland* personally, and now
 “ have I accomplished my apprenticeship of seven years
 “ here; and seven years is a great time for a king’s
 “ experience in government. Therefore there would
 “ be too many *Phormio*’s to teach *Hannibal*: I must
 “ not be taught my office.

“ Secondly, I would not have you meddle with such
 “ antient rights of mine, as I have received from my
 “ predecessors, possessing them, *more majorum*: such
 “ things I would be sorrie should be accounted for
 “ grievances.

“ And lastly, I pray you to beware to exhibit for
 “ grievance, any thing that is established by a settled
 “ law, and whereunto (as you have already had a
 “ proof) you know I will never give a plausible an-
 “ swer: for it is an undutiful part in subjects to press
 “ their king, wherein they know before hand he will
 “ refuse them.” (b)

(b) K. Jam
 works, p.

537.

(c) See Hey-
 wood

Townshends
 historical
 collections,

p. 37, 53,

63. fol.

Lond. 1680.

Had *James* stoped here he might have been excused.
Elizabeth had set him an example of directing the *com-
 mons* to be cautious in making use of their liberty of
 speech; and they complained not of it. (c) But he
 went farther. For in the year 1621, the *commons* hav-
 ing drawn up a petition and remonstrance to the king,
 concerning the danger of the protestant religion at home
 and abroad, and advised him to aid the protestants in
 the

and authority, and undervaluing their power,
skill

the wars in which they were engaged; break with the king of Spain, and marry his son to a princess of the reformed religion, with some other things: the commons having drawn up this petition and remonstrance, and it coming to the king's ears that they were about to present it, the following letter was written by him to the speaker, from New-Market.

Mr. Speaker,

“ We have heard, by divers reports, to our great
“ grief, that our distance from the houses of parliament
“ caused by our indisposition of health, hath embold-
“ ened some fiery and popular spirits of some of the
“ house of commons, to argue and debate publickly of
“ the matters far above their reach and capacity,
“ tending to our high dishonor, and breach of preroga-
“ tive royal. These are therefore to command you,
“ to make known, in our name, unto the house, that
“ none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with
“ any thing concerning our government, or deep mat-
“ ters of state, and namely not to deal with our dearest
“ son's match with the daughter of *Spain*, nor to touch
“ the honour of that king, or any other our friends and
“ confederates: and also not to meddle with any man's
“ particulars, which have their due motion in our or-
“ dinary courts of justice. And whereas we hear,
“ that they have sent a message to Sir Edward Sandys,
“ to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall in
“ our name resolve them, that it was not for any mis-
“ demeanor of his in parliament. But to put them out
“ of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise
“ among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our
“ name, that we think ourselves very free and able to
“ punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as
“ well during their sitting as after: which we mean
“ not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any
“ man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be minif-
“ tred

skill and capacity. And not contented here-
with

(d) Frank-
lin's annals
of K. James's
p. 60. and
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p.
43.

“ tred unto us ; and if they have already touched any
“ of these points, which we have forbidden, in any
“ petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is
“ our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they
“ reform it before it come to our hands we will not
“ deign the hearing, nor answering of it.” (d) Here-
upon the *Commons* drew up another petition, which
they sent accompanied with the former remonstrance ;
to which the king answered among other things, “ that
“ he must use the first words which queen *Elizabeth*
“ had used, in an answer to an insolent proposition,
“ made by a *Polonian* ambassador unto her ; that is
“ *legatum expectabamus heraldum accippimus* ; that he
“ wished them to remember that he was an old and ex-
“ perience king, needed no such lessons as they had
“ given him ; that they had usurped upon the prero-
“ gative royal, and meddled with things far above their
“ reach, and then in the conclusion protested the con-
“ trary ; as if a robber, says he, would take a man's
“ purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him.
“ After this he askes them how they could have presum-
“ ed to determine about his son's match without com-
“ mitting of high treason ? These are unfit things,
“ (the breaking of the match with Spain, and conclud-
“ ing one with a protestant) to be handled in parlia-
“ ment, except your king should require it of you : for
“ who can have wisdom to judge of things of that na-
“ ture, but such as are daily acquainted with the par-
“ ticulars of treaties, and of the variable and fixed
“ connexion of affairs of state, together with the know-
“ ledge of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of
“ princes in their several negotiations ? otherwise a
“ small mistaking of matters of this nature, may pro-
“ duce more effects than can be imagined : and there-
“ fore, *ne sutor ultra crepidam*.” He concludes with
saying, “ we cannot allow of the style, (in the petition
“ and remonstrance,) calling it *your antient and un-*
“ doubted

with he openly and avowedly violated their privileges,

“doubted right and inheritance; but could rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors, and us; for most of them grow from precedents, which shews rather a toleration than inheritance.”

At this the commons were alarmed; and therefore solemnly protested that the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of church and state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; that in handling of them every member ought to have freedom of speech; and that they are not to be impeached, molested or imprisoned for the same, without the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament.

But this protest had no effect on the king. His anger was not abated, he grew not more calm or considerate, but in full assembly of his council, and in the presence of the judges declared the said protestation to be invalid, void, and of no effect; and did further *manu sua propria*, take the said protestation out of the journal book of the clerk of the commons house of parliament. (e)

With reason then did I say, that James treated his parliaments in many cases, most contemptuously; and even a parliament, concerning which he himself had declared, that a part of it, “the house of commons, had

“shewed greater love, and used him with more respect in all their proceedings; than ever any house of commons had hitherto done to him, or, as he thought,

“to any of his predecessors.” (f) Their love and respect were requited by language destitute of all civility and politeness, and they were threatened, bullied, and insulted.

Yea, what was more extraordinary was, that a new doctrine was broached by James, that the privileges and liberties of parliament, with respect to the commons, were derived from the crown, and were rather matters of toleration, than inheritance: This

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struck

(e) Frank-
lin, p.
62—66.
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p.
46—54.

(f) Rush-
worth, Vol.
I. p. 25.

privileges, by imprisoning, and otherwise
grieving such of their members as had [UUU]
dared

struck directly at their rights and privileges, and was that which they had the greatest reason to resent. For if they were derived from the crown, and were things barely tolerated by it, they might be abrogated and destroyed; and consequently the constitution might be altered, and despotism take place. But *James* was mistaken with regard to the foundation of the privileges and rights of the house of commons. They flowed not from the grace of our kings; but were coæval with our constitution; as some of our best writers (g) have shewn in opposition to those ecclesiastical, or court parasites who vainly strove to persuade the world of the contrary. May they be perpetual! may all our princes think it their duty and interest inviolably to preserve them; and may they be used so as to secure the liberties, the rights and the welfare of the meanest individual.

(g) See Sir
Rob. At-
kyns's pow-
er, jurisdic-
tion, and
priviledges of
parliament,
fol. Lond.
1689.
Sydney's
government,
p. 379. fol.
Lond. 1698.
See also spi-
rit of laws,
Vol. I. p.
230. and
Townshend's
collection's,
p. 45.

[UUU] He violated the privileges of parliament, by imprisoning and otherwise grieving such of the members, as had acted in the house disagreeable to his will.] We have heard *James* in the foregoing note, declaring that he meant not to spare punishing any man's behaviour in parliament, which should be insolent. By insolent, I suppose he meant unacceptable, or disagreeable to himself or minister, how beneficial soever it might be, or intended to be to the public. For 'tis the manner of princes bent on establishing their own wicked wills, in contradiction to law and the common good, to give odious names to the actions of the sons of liberty, and brand them with ignominious titles.

However, *James* fully made good his threats. He punished those who were for assisting the protestants abroad, for breaking with Spain, and making a marriage for prince *Charles* with one of their own religion. For soon after his tearing the protestation of the commons out of the journal book with his own hand, he dissolved the

dared to speak contrary to his mind in the house ;

the parliament, and “ committed Sir Edward Cook, “ and Sir Robert Philips to the tower ; Mr. Selden, “ Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallory, to other prisons and “ confinements. Likewise Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir “ Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James “ Perrot, for punishment were sent into Ireland, to “ enquire into sundry matters concerning his majesty’s “ service.” (b) This was a direct breach of the privi-
leges of the parliament as every one must see. For if the members of it are liable to be called to an account and punished for what they may have spoken, by any but the body to which they belong, the freedom of it ceases, and it no longer has that power and independency which is allotted to it by the constitution. But the violating the privileges of parliament was no new thing to James. For having dissolved the parliament in 1614, “ it pleased him the very next morning to “ call to examination, before the lords of his council, “ divers members of the house of commons, for some “ speeches better becoming a senate of Venice, where “ the treaters are perpetual princes, than where those “ that speak so irreverently, are so soon to return, “ (which they should remember) to the natural capaci- “ ty of subjects. Of these examinants four are com- “ mitted close prisoners to the tower : 1. Sir Walter “ Chute. 2. John Hoskyns,” (a man of great parts, learning and merit, who lay in prison a full year, where he was intimate with Sir Walter Raleigh, and revised his history, and where he wrote the following lines to his little child Benjamin.

Sweet Benjamin, since thou art young,
And hast not yet the use of tongue,
Make it thy slave while thou art free
Imprison it, lest it do thee.

O 2

3. One

(b) Rush-
worth,
Vol. I. p.
55.
Franklin,
p. 66.

house ; to their no small loss and damage.

—Nor

(i) Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 431, 398, and Wood's athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. I. col. 614.

“ 3. One *Wentworth*, a lawyer. 4. Mr. Christopher *Nevil*, second son to my lord of *Abergavenny*.” (i) Indeed the principal on which *James* set out was that of crushing the freedom and privileges of parliament. For in his proclamation for calling his first parliament, “ he gave order what sort of men, and how qualified, “ should be chosen by the commons ; and concludes, “ we notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens and burgessees, ought, “ and are to be brought to the court of chancery, and “ there to be filed upon record ; and if any be found to “ be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to “ be rejected as unlawful, and insufficient, and the city “ or borough to be fined for the same ; and if it be “ found that they have committed any gross or wilful “ default or contempt in the election, return or certificate, that then their liberties, according to the law, “ are to be seized as forfeited ; and if any person take “ upon him the place of a knight, citizen or burgesse, “ not being duly elected and sworn, according to the “ laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect and true meaning of this “ our proclamation, then every person so offending, “ to be fined and imprisoned for the same.” (k) As soon as the members were chosen, *James* shewed his authority by vacating the election of Sir *Francis Goodwin*, knight of the shire for *Buckingham*, (under pretence of his having been outlawed,) and sending a new writ in virtue whereof Sir *John Fortescue* was chosen, “ notwithstanding, (says lord *Cecyll*, in a letter “ to Mr. *Winwood*, dated April 12, 1604,) the lower “ house having had notice that he was once chosen, and “ having found that the outlawry was pardoned in effect, “ by his majesty’s general pardon upon his inauguration, (altho’ in true construction of law he is not “ *rectus in curia*, until he hath sued out his *Scire Facias*,) they somewhat suddenly, fearing some opposition, “ (which was never intended) allowed of him, and rejected the other ; which form of proceeding appeared “ harsh

(k) Coke, Vol. I. p. 20.

Nor did he behave better with regard

“harsh to the king rather in form than matter. And
 “therefore being then desirous that the higher house
 “might have some conference with the lower house,
 “(which as we of ourselves did intimate unto them)
 “they grew jealous of that proposition, as a matter
 “which they disliked to yield to after a judgment; and
 “therefore did rather chuse to send to the king, that
 “they would be glad to shew himself the reasons (to
 “whom they owed all duty as their sovereign,) rather
 “than to any other, taking it somewhat derogative
 “from their house, to attribute any superiority to the
 “higher house, seeing both houses make but one body,
 “whereof the king is the head. This being done after
 “two conferences, in the presence of the king, the
 “the council and judges, the matter was compounded
 “to all men’s liking; wherein that which is due is on-
 “ly due to Cæsar; for, but for his wisdom and dexte-
 “rity, it could not have had any conclusion, with so
 “general an applause; this being found by debate, to
 “be most certaine, namely, that neither of them both
 “were duely returned, and therefore resolved of all
 “parties, that a new writ should go forth by warrant
 “from the speaker, wherein none of them should
 “stand to be elected; and so much for the truth of
 “that cause.” (1) This is the representation of a
 courtier. I will give the reader the judgment of the
 house of commons on this same affair, and leave it with
 him to form his opinion.—“For the matter of St.
 “Francis Goodwin chosen for Bucks, (say they) we
 “were, and still are of a clear opinion, that the free-
 “dom of election was in that action extreamly in-
 “jured. That, by the same right, it might be at all times
 “in a lord chancellors power to reverse, defeat, erect,
 “or substitute, all the elections and persons elected,
 “over all the realm; neither thought we that the
 “judges opinions (which yet in due place we greatly
 reve-

(1) Win-
 wood, Vol.
 II. p. 19.

gard to his other subjects. Those who opposed his will, surely smarted for it, and very

“ reverence,) being delivered what the common law
 “ was (which extends only to inferior and standing
 “ courts,) ought to bring in a prejudice to this high
 “ court of parliament, whose power being above the
 “ law, is not founded on the common law, but have
 “ therein rights and privileges peculiar to themselves.

“ For the manner of our proceeding (which your
 “ majesty seemed to blame, in that the second writ go-
 “ ing out in your majesty’s name, we seemed to cen-
 “ sure it, without first craving access to acquaint your
 “ highness with our reasons therein) we trust our de-
 “ fence shall appear just and reasonable. It is the form
 “ of the court of chancery (as of divers other courts)
 “ that writs going out in your majesty’s name, are
 “ returned also, as to your majesty, in that court from
 “ whence they issue. Howbeit, therefore no man ever
 “ repaireth to your majesty’s person, but proceedeth ac-
 “ cording to law, notwithstanding the writ.

“ This being the universal custom of this kingdom,
 “ it was not, nor could be admitted into our councils,
 “ that the difference was between your majesty and us:
 “ but it was and still is conceived, that the controversy
 “ was between courts about preheminencies and privi-
 “ ledges; and that the question was, whether the
 “ chancery, or our house of commons, were judge
 “ of the members returned for it? Wherein tho’ we
 “ supposed the wrong done to be most apparent, and
 “ extreemly prejudicial to the rights and privileges of
 “ this realm; yet such, and so great was our willing-
 “ ness to please your majesty, as to yield to a middle
 “ course proposed by your highness, preserving only our
 “ privileges, by a voluntary cession of the lawful
 “ knight.

“ And this course (as if it were of deceiving our-
 “ selves, and yielding in our apparent rights, wherefo-
 “ ever we could but invent such ways of escape, as that
 “ the

very light and trifling, or even innocent actions were most rigourously punished. [xxx]

Justice

“ the precedent might not be hurtful) we have held
 “ more than once this parliament, upon desire to avoid
 “ that, which to your majesty, by misinformation,
 “ (whereof we had cause to stand alway in doubt)
 “ might be distasteful, nor not approvable; so dear
 “ hath your majesty been unto us.” (m)——From these
 instances, and many more might be produced, of
 James’s treatment of his parliaments, we may be able to
 judge of the knowledge, or honesty of father Orleans,
 who speaks of his “ extraordinary complaisance to-
 “ wards the parliament, from his first accession to the
 “ throne, which he always consulted, says he, not
 “ only in the weighty affairs of state, but even in most of
 “ those that concerned his family; condescending to their
 “ advice; pretending a mighty regard not to infringe
 “ their privileges; asking few extraordinary supplies,
 “ and choosing rather to be streightned in his way of
 “ living, than to administer occasion of complaint by
 “ filling his coffers.” (n)

(m) Com-
 mon’s pro-
 testation :
 Anno primo
 Jac. primi,
 in Morgan’s
 phoenix bri-
 tannicus,
 p. 120.
 See also Ol-
 castle’s re-
 marks, p.
 248.

(n) D. Or-
 lean’s revo-
 lutions in
 England, p.
 4. 8vo.
 Lond. 1711.

[xxx] Light and trifling, or even innocent actions were most severely punished by him.] A few instances will be sufficient to prove this. In April 1615, Oliver St. John, afterwards lord Grandison, and lieutenant of Ireland, was fined five thousand pounds in the star-chamber, for opposing that benevolence moved in the foregoing session of parliament which was so abruptly dissolved, tho’ that kind of benevolence as he shewed was against law, reason, and religion. (a)——And Sir Robert Mansfield was committed to the Marshalsea, partly for having consulted with Mr. Whitlock the lawyer, about the validity of a commission drawn for a research into the office of the admiralty; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said lawyer his friend; the point touching a limb of the king’s prerogative and authority. (b) And a vast sum of money was exacted, says Cambden, in 1617, of the citizens of London, not

(a) Cabala,
 p. 361. and
 Oldys’s life
 of Raleigh,
 p. 180.
 note a.

(b) Reli-
 quies Wot-
 tonianæ,
 p. 418.

without

The LIFE of JAMES I.

Justice he seems indeed to have had little or no regard to, as appeared by his unparall'd treatment of Sir Walter *Raleigh*, [YYY] the glory

(c) Annals of K. James, in compleat hist. p. 647.

without murmuring. (c) What shall I say more? James's reign was full of rigour, severity, and hard dealing. Witness the earl of *Northumberland*, who was fined thirty thousand pound, and confined from the year 1605, to the year 1619 in the Tower, upon a meer suspicion, without the least proof of his having had knowledge of the powder-plot, as *Cecyll* himself confessed in a letter to Sir Thomas *Edmonds*, dated Dec. 2, 1605. (d) Witness Sir Robert *Dudley*, who was not

(d) Birchs's view of the negotiations, p. 245.

See also Of-born, p. 500.

(e) See the patent of K. Charles I. for creating Alice, lady Dudley, a dutchess of England, in the appendix to Leiceſter's life, note 15. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

allowed to make use of the depositions of his witnesses to prove himself the legal heir of his father, the great earl of *Leiceſter*; and who was also deprived of his honors and estates most iniquitously, as appeared to prince *Henry*, and to king *Charles* the first. (e) And witness Sir Thomas *Lake*, and many others whose fines were vastly beyond their supposed crimes, and such as ought not in justice or equity to have been inflicted on them. In short, such as displeased *James*, he had no mercy on but made them feel the weight of his sore displeasure.

[YYY] His unparalleled treatment of Sir Walter *Raleigh*.] *Raleigh* was a man in point of bravery and conduct, of wit and understanding, of prudence and ability, of learning and judgment, inferiour to none of the age in which he lived, and superior to most. What were his actions before the accession of *James*, those who have curiosity may see admirably described either by Mr. *Oldy's*, or Dr. *Birch*, in their respective lives of this wonderful man, prefixed to his history of the world, and his political, commercial and philosophical works.

Queen *Elizabeth* knew his merit, and valued him highly. *James* on the contrary was prejudiced against him; had little sense of his worth, and soon ill-treated him

glory of his age and nation, whom he caused to be executed after a respite of a great number

him by taking from him his post of captain of the guards, and giving it to Sir Thomas *Erskin*, a Scottish favourite. In July, 1603. he was confined on account of a plot in which he was said to be engaged with the lords, *Cobham* and *Grey*, and several priests, and gentlemen, in order to extirpate the king and his issue; set the lady *Arabella* on the throne; give peace to Spain; and tolerate the romish religion. On the 15th of November the same year he was arraigned at *Winchester* for these things; and after having had the civil and polite appellations of viper, traytor, and odious man, who had a Spanish heart, and was a spider of hell, bestowed on him by the famous *Coke*, attorney-general: after having been dignified with these titles he was brought in guilty, tho' not the least shadow of a proof was brought against him. I say not the least shadow of a proof; for whoever will read his tryal, or any impartial accounts which are given of it, will not help standing amazed to find how it was possible, after the defence he made, upon such wretched allegations to convict him. But he was out of favour at court; like *Sydney*, he was talked to death by the lawyers; and in those times when the crown was against a man, he was almost sure of being condemned. When I consider the bitterness, severity, and almost malice which appeared in the council for the crown, against the state prisoners in this, the foregoing, and some of the subsequent reigns, I cannot help thinking, that the gentlemen of that profession are very much altered for the better. They have more regard to truth, justice, and humanity; and consequently, though they may not have as many cases, precedents or statutes to cite, or pervert as *Coke* had, yet are they vastly more valuable. I hope, the reader will pardon a digression, into which indignation at *Raleigh's* vile treatment drew me. I now go on with the narration. Upon Sir *Walter's* condemnation, all his lands and offices were

ber of years, without the least colour of a pretence: and likewise by his saving *Somerset*,

(a) *Raleigh's*
works,
Vol. II. p.
362.

were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower. But the iniquity of his sentence was visible to all. The king of *Denmark*, queen *Ann*, prince *Henry*, all thought him innocent, after having examined into his crimes; (a) and even *James*, I believe did not deem him guilty. He respited his sentence, and suffered him to enjoy his fortune seven years after. Then *Sherburn* castle was thought a thing worth having by *Ker*, (afterwards earl of *Somerset*;) and though it was entailed on his children, means were found, for the want of one single word, to have the conveyance pronounced invalid, and *Sherburn* forfeited to the crown. After sixteen years imprisonment, Sir *Walter* proposed his voyage to *Guiana*; got his liberty, gave in his scheme of his intended proceedings to *James*, who after having given him power of life and death, and a proper commission, revealed his designs to *Gondamore*, and thereby rendered them abortive. Upon his returning unsuccessful through the fault of his master, and other causes, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, he was seized, imprisoned, and, to the admiration of all men, on his old sentence beheaded. In charging *James* with betraying *Raleigh* to the Spanish ambassador, I do him no injustice; as will appear from a letter of Sir *Walter's* to secretary *Winwood*. “ It pleased his majesty so little to value us, as to command me upon my
“ allegiance, to set down under my hand the country,
“ and the very river by which I was to enter it, to set
“ down the number of my men, and burthen of my
“ ships, and what ordnance every ship carried, which
“ being known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him
“ sent to the king of Spain, a dispatch was made, and
“ letters sent from *Madrid*, before my departure out
“ of the *Thames*; for his first letter sent by a bark of
“ advice, was dated the 19th of *March*, 1617, at
“ *Madrid*, which letter I have here enclosed sent to
“ your

set, and his lady [zzz] from that punishment which

“ your honour ; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not.” (b) The reader, no doubt, is shocked at such vile treatment of so worthy a man, and cannot fail of being filled with horror at it. The sentence in the first place was unjust ; his imprisonment was a monstrous hardship ; but the execution of his sentence cruel, and abominable.

(b) Raleigh's Works, Vol. II, p. 367.

[zzz] He saved *Somerſet*, and his lady from the punishment which the laws had juſtly doomed them to, for their crimes.] Robert *Ker*, had been firſt one of the king's pages ; being diſmiſſed from this poſt, he went into France, and from thence returning, thro' accident he was taken notice of by *James*, and quickly was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, and became ſole favourite. In 1613, he was advanced to be lord high treaſurer of Scotland, and the ſame year was raiſed to be a peer of England, by the ſtile and title of viſcount *Rocheſter*. Soon after he had the garter, and was created earl of *Somerſet*, and made lord chamberlain of the houſehold. A little before this, he had become intimate with the wife of the earl of *Effex*, *Frances Howard*, daughter of the earl of *Suffolk*, who in order to make way for her marriage with him, got a divorce from her huſband. Soon after they were married ; and ſoon after one of the moſt iniquitous actions was done, that we read of in hiſtory.—Sir Thomas *Overbury*, the friend of *Somerſet*, and one to whom he owed, as Sir Thomas himſelf ſays, “ more than to any ſoul living, both for his fortune, underſtanding and reputation :” (a) he, I ſay, endeavouring, to diſſuade him from the match, thereby incurred the hatred of him, and his lady. For reſuſing to go as ambaffador abroad, which *Somerſet* adviſed him to reſuſe, he was clapt up into the Tower, and there confined many months ; and by a variety of poiſons, made uſe of by the agents of the earl and his lady, which cruelly tormented him, was at length put an end to, and it was given out

(a) Winwood, Vol. III. p. 478.

which the laws had justly doomed them to,
by

(b) See Sir Francis Bacon's speech at the arraignment of the earl of Somerset, and truth brought to light by time p. 52. Lond. 1651. 4to.

(c) See note (1. 1.]

(d) See the pardon in truth brought to light by time p. 182.

(e) Crawford's lives, p. 402. and Cabala, p. 221.

(f) Cambden's Annals of K. James, in the compleat hist. p. 646.

out that he died of the pox. (b) But the truth could not be long concealed. *Villiers* now began to supplant *Somerset*, and soon got the ascendancy. Every man endeavoured to raise the one, and pull down the other. The murder was discovered. *James* came to the knowledge of it, and uttered the deepest imprecations against himself and posterity, if he spared any that were found guilty. (c) But his resolution remained not. The instruments were brought to their deserved end; but those who made use of them escaped. On the 24 of May, 1616, the countess of *Somerset* was brought to her tryal, and the earl the next day; the first, after some denials in the court, confessed the fact, and begged for mercy; the other stood upon his innocency, and was found guilty; as there can be no doubt but that he was. All mankind expected upon this, that the judgment against them would have been executed. But on the contrary, a pardon was granted the lady, "because the proceſſe and judgment against her were not as of a principal, (says the pardon) but as of an accessary before the fact." (d) As for the earl he had a remission under the great seal of England, Oct. 7, 1624, and was suffered to enjoy the greatest part of his estate, and thought himself but ill-used that he was not restored to the whole. (e) And such was the favour shewed unto him by *James*, that tho' he was convicted of felony, his arms were not permitted to be removed out of the chapel of Windsor; and upon his account it was ordered that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the order of St. George; which was without precedent." (f) — This was the justice of *James*. One of the best of his subjects was executed for no real crime; two of the worst of them escaped punishment for the blackest and most detestable. It is the duty of kings to protect the innocent, and punish the guilty. It is the part of a just king, as well as of an honest man, to render unto every

by reason of their abominable Crimes. Somerset, indeed had been a favourite; and to his

every one his due. Honour and praise should be bestowed on the deserving; ignominy, shame and punishment should follow those who trample under foot the sacred laws of society, and humanity. But *James* permitted not these to follow (as far as he could help it) the crimes of *Somerset* and his lady, tho' none were more deserving of them. Princes it must be owned have a right to relax the rigor of the laws, or suspend their execution in some cases. But then there ought to be a just reason for it. Whereas in the case of *Somerset*, as well as of his lady, (tho' a respect to her father, friends and family are mentioned as a motive to the pardoning of her) hardly one of those causes of relaxing punishment mentioned by the civilians are found. (g) But there certainly was a reason, whatever it was, for this favour shewed to *Somerset*. Mr. *Mallet* has quoted some passages from the original letter of Sir Francis *Bacon*, (a name always to be valued by the lovers of learning) then attorney-general, and particularly employed in this very affair, from whence it appears that *James* shewed an extream sollicitude, about the earl's behaviour at his tryal and the event of it; that he was afraid lest by his insolent and contemptuous behaviour at the bar, he should make himself incapable or unworthy of favour and mercy; which, together with the letter written by him after his condemnation to the king, in a stile rather of expostulation and demand, than of humility and supplication, makes him conclude, and, I think, not unjustly, that there was an important secret in his keeping, of which the king dreaded a discovery. (h) Some have thought the discovery dreaded, was the manner of prince *Henry's* death, which was believed to have been by poison; but if I may be allowed to offer a conjecture, for I deem it no more, it was the revealing of that vice to which *James* seems to have been addicted, (i) that was the object of his fear. Whether in this conjecture I am right, the reader will determine.

(g) See Puffendorf, B. 8. c. 3. sect. 17. and Grotius de jure belli. ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 20. Sec. 25, 26.

(h) Mallet's life of lord. Bacon, p. 65--72, 8vo. Lond. 1740. and Cabala, p. 53. (i) See note, [C d]

his favourites, *James* was kind in all things; condescending to what [4 A] was below his dignity

[4 A] To his favourites *James* was kind in all things; condescending to what was below his dignity, in order to please or serve them.] I have already taken notice of *James's* favour to *Lennox* and *Arran* when in Scotland, (a) to *Ker* and others after his coming into England; (b) and now I must inform my reader, that he promoted *George Villiers* from the rank of a meer private gentleman, on the account of his beauty, to the degree of a knight, and gentleman of the bedchamber; master of the horse; baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, and admiral of England, within the space of a very few years. (c) This man who seems to have had no great capacity, and less knowledge, ruled every thing; he advanced his relations to some of the highest honors, and greatly enriched himself; for at the time of his death he was possessed of near 4000 pounds a year, and had 300,000 pounds in jewels, tho' he owed 60,000 pounds, (d) I do not think this account of his jewels, beyond the truth. "For it was common with him " at an ordinary dancing to have his cloaths trimmed " with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond " hat-bands, cockades and earrings; to be yoked with " great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in short " to be manacled, fettered and imprisoned in jewels; in- " somuch that at his going over to *Paris*, in 1625, he " had 27 suits of cloaths made, the richest that embroi- " dery, lace, silk, velvet, gold and gems could contri- " bute; one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all " over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at " fourscore thousand pounds, besides a great feather " stuck all over with diamonds; as were also his sword, " girdle, hat-band and spurs." This account is taken from a M. S. in the harleyan library, B. H. 90. c. 7. fol. 642. as I find it quoted by Mr. Olydy's. (e) A man who in the midst of pleasures could find money for such monstrous extravagancies, and yet at the same time grow rich, must had had a very kind and bountiful master

(a) Note

[c]

(b) Notes

[y] and

[www]

(c) See
Cambden's
annals of K.
James, in
the com-
pleat history.

(d) See Tin-
dal's notes
on Rapin,
Vol. II. p.
276.

(e) Life of
Raleigh, p.
145, in the
note [c]

dignity in order to please or serve them in almost any matters; submitting even to be affronted,

master indeed!—But *James* was not only kind to his favourites in respect of giving them wealth and honors, but he studied by all possible methods to please and serve them. For *Somerset* had no sooner determined to marry lord *Essex*'s wife, than the king yielded him all possible assistance in order to accomplish it. For he got over the bishops of Ely and Coventry, [Andrews and Neal] who had been vehemently against the divorce from *Essex*, for alledged, and, indeed, confessed impotency on his part with respect to her. (f) And when the arch-bishop of Canterbury, (*Abbot*,) could not be prevailed on to change sides that he might please, his majesty himself undertook to answer his reasons, and to shew that there was “warrant in scripture for pronouncing a nullity *propter frigiditatem*, and that all the means which might make him *frigidus versus hanc* must be included therein; (g) in prosecution of which he made use of many obscene expressions. However, he carried the cause. The lady was divorced, and soon after married *Somerset*; and then they perpetrated the crime for which they were condemned, and which I have spoken of in the note preceeding.—With regard to *Buckingham* his next favourite, *James* was still more obliging. In his speech to his parliament in the year 1620, among other things he tells them, “that he had abated much in his navies, in the charge of his munition; and had made not choice of an old beaten soldier for his admiral, but rather chose a young man, [*Buckingham*] whose honesty and integrity he knew, “whose

(f) Win-wood, Vol. III. p. 475.

(g) Truth brought to light by time. p. 101. Frankley, p. 3. Weldon, p. 71. *Aulicus coquinarie*, p. 112, Lond. 1650, 12mo. *

* The referring to *Aulicus Coquinarie*, gives me an opportunity of pointing out to the public it's true author; of which both *Wood*, *Tindal*, and *Oldy*'s, as well as *Dr. Grey*, and all the writers I have hitherto seen, seem to be ignorant. The writer of this piece is no other than *Will. Saunderson*, author of the history of *James I.* deservedly treated with contempt, on account of the poorness of its composition, and gross partiality. See *Saunderson*'s proem to the second part of the history of *James I.* folio. Lond. 1656.

fronted, and insulted by them; and yeilding to their desires even sometimes contrary to his

- (b) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 22. and Franklin, p. 49. " whose care had been to appoint under him sufficient men, to lessen his charges, which he had done." (b) — In another speech to the lords, in the year 1621, in order to recommend his minion to their esteem, he tells them, " that he hath been ready on all occasions of good offices, both for the house in general, and every member in particular." (i) And in an answer of his to both houses of parliament, anno 1623, he styles him " his disciple and scholar, and a good scholar of his." (k) These expressions sound odd enough, but they are tollerable when compared with those we find in his preface, to his meditation on the lords prayer. For in this *James* tells *Buckingham*, that he may claim an interest in it for divers respects. " First, says he, from the ground of my writing it; for divers times before I medled with it, I told you, and only you, of some of my conceptions upon the Lord's prayer, and you often sollicitated me to put pen to paper: next, as the person to whom we pray it, is our heavenly father, so am I that offer it unto you, not only your politike, but also your œconomicke father, and that in a nearer degree than unto others. Thirdly, that you may make good use of it; for since I daily take care to better your understanding, to enable you the more for my service in worldly affairs, reason would that God's part should not be left out, for *timor domini* is *initium sapientiæ*. And lastly, I must with joy acknowledge, that you deserve this gift of me, in not only giving so good example to the rest of the court, in frequent hearing of the word of God: But in special, in so often receiving the sacrament, which is a notable demonstration of your charitie in pardoning them that offend you, that being the thing I most labour to recommend to the world in this meditation of mine; and how godly and virtuous all my advices have ever been unto you, I hope you will faithfully witness

his own sense of things. — He professed himself

“ witness to the world.” (l) How godly and virtuous (l) King all his advices were to this his disciple, the reader will James’s easily judge by looking back to what is contained in works, p. 1 note. [G G] — But had they been such as he would have 573. the world believe, it was very mean in a king to trumpet forth his own, and his favourites praises. Possibly, however, James may be excused on account of his age, as he himself seems to think he should be for uttering trifles. “ I grow in years, says he, and old-men are “ twice babes, as the proverb is.” (m) But if they are (m) Ib. p. babes, and pretend to act the part of men, to reason, 572. dictate and command, tho’ they may be born with, they will be laughed at. For there is not a more ridiculous object, than that which is compounded of ignorance, conceit and vanity. — Let us go on with our subject. If we may credit Sir Edward *Peyton*, his Majesty condescended even to pimp for *Buckingham*. “ To “ please this favourite, (says he) king *James* gave way “ for the duke to entice others to his will. Two ex- “ amples I will recite : First, the king entertained Sir “ *John Crafts*, and his daughter, a beautiful lass, at “ *Newmarket*, to set at the table with the king. This “ he did then, to procure *Buckingham* the easier to “ vitiate her. Secondly, Mrs. *Dorothy Gawdy*, being, “ a rare creature, king *James* carried *Buckingham* to “ *Culford* to have his will on that beauty : But Sir *Ni- “ cholas Bacon*’s sons conveyed her out of a window in- “ to a private chamber, over the leads, and so disappoint- “ ed the duke of his wicked purpose. In which clean- “ ly conveyance the author had a hand, with the “ knight’s sons.” (n) These were the fruits no doubt (n) Divine of *James*’s virtuous and godly advices, and by these catastrophe, they were faithfully witnessed to the world by *Bucking- P. 17. ham*, as we see his master hoped. For certain ’tis he was exceedingly addicted to women, and had debauched his own wife before marriage ; and “ if his eye “ culled out a wanton beauty, he had his fetters that “ could

himself to be a protestant, and boasted that
he

(o) Wilson,
P. 149.

“ could spread his nets, and point a meeting at some lady’s house, where he should come as by accident and find access, while all his train attended at the door, as if it were an honourable visit.” (o)——And in order to enrich himself and kindred, he was permitted by *James* to make the most he could of every thing. He who understood neither law nor divinity, who had no appearances of virtue, nor concern about any thing but to gratify his passions; *Buckingham*, I say, had the disposal of the highest posts in the law and in the church, and to him were the most submissive addresses made by the right reverend fathers in God. Those who would give the greatest sums, or pay the largest yearly pensions to him, were the men generally preferred; and few who would pay nothing, had any thing. (p)

(p) See Wel-
don, p. 119.

What the power of *Buckingham* was, and what kind of addresses were made to him, will best appear from the following letter, among many which might be produced, from *Dr. Field*, bishop of *Landaffe* to him, tho’ written I think, sometime after *James*’s death.

“ My gracious good lord,

“ In the great library of men, that I have studied
“ these many years, your grace is the best book, and
“ most classick author, that I have read, in whom I
“ find so much goodness, sweetness and nobleness of na-
“ ture, such an heroick spirit, for boundless bounty,
“ as I never did in any. I could instance in many,
“ some of whom you have made deans, some bishops,
“ some lords, and privy-counsellors; none that ever
“ looked towards your grace did ever go away empty.
“ I need go no further than myself (a gum of the earth)
“ whom you raised out of the dust, for raising but a
“ thought so high as to serve your highness. Since
“ that, I have not played the truant, but more diligent-
“ ly studied you than ever before: and yet (dunce that
“ I am) I stand at a stay, and am a non proficient,
“ the

he had been a kind of martyr for that profession, though he never shewed his regard to those

“ the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile, some wile, in some of my fellow students, who hide my book from me, or some part of it ; all the fault is not in my own blockishness, that I thrive no better ; I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. You grace was pleased to protest no man had ; and to assure me no man could. My heart tells me it hath been always upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them, ever since, most sound unto your grace. Give me leave, to comfort myself with recordation of your loving kindneses of old, when on that great feast day of your being inaugurated our chancellor [of *Cambridge*] my look was your book, wherein you read sadness, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your grace would give me no cause. You replied (with loss of blood rather.) But God forbid so precious an effusion. (I would rather empty all my veins than you should bleed one drop.) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My lord, I am grown an old man, and am like old household stuff, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it *Ely*, or *Bath* and *Wells* ; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing an history of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envy, and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live in praying for your grace, whose I am, totally and finally.

“ Theophilus Landaven.” (q) (q) Cabala,

p. 117.

The LIFE of JAMES I.

those of that persuasion in Germany or France; but suffered them to be oppressed by the

A man who could obtain a good bishoprick, by such arts as these, with great sincerity of soul, no doubt, might say, *nolo episcopari*! I don't know whether 'tis worth while to observe that *Field's* flattery and sycophancy availed nothing with Buckingham. He had been too much used to it, and so had lost its relish. Money was what he wanted: but *Field* was poor, had a wife and six children, and consequently could advance little; and therefore remained where he was, till Dec. 15, 1635, long after *Villiers*'s death, when he was removed to Hereford, which he enjoyed not more than half a year. (r) I would not have the reader think ecclesiastical preferments are now obtained by like means

(r) See *Cabala*, p. 116, and *Willis's* survey of cathedrals, Vol. I. p. 526. 4to. Lond. 1727. (s) *Clarendon*, Vol. I. p. 25. and *Weldon*, p. 140.

(t) *Clarendon*, Vol. I. p. 16.

(u) *Id.* p. 18-24.

as in the days of *James*. *Buckingham* having obtained riches and honors in abundance for himself and all his relations, grew quite insolent: Insomuch that he was once about to strike prince *Charles*: (s) and at another time bid him in plain terms kiss his a——, yea towards *James* himself, he was highly insolent. For when his majesty attempted to dissuade him and the prince from taking the journey into Spain, to which he had before thoughtlessly given his consent; he rudely told him, “no body could believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise he had made; that he plainly discerned that it proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons he had alledged, and that he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been.” (t) In short, directly contrary to the mind of his master, he irritated the parliament against Spain; reflected on the conduct of the earl of *Bristol*, and told them what was not true with relation to him, and set on a prosecution against him; and ruined the earl of *Middlesex*, (I mean with respect to his power) tho’ intreated by the king to the contrary. (u) But *James* bore all this, tho’ not without

the houses of *Bourbon*, and *Austria*, [4 B]
with-

without uneasiness; and submitted to be led by his favourite quite contrary to his inclinations. A sure sign of his weakness! For princes have it in their power at all times to be obeyed, if they require nothing contrary to the laws: and such of them as suffer themselves to be affronted, contradicted or menaced by their servants, and yet continue unto them their favour, shew unto all men that they are unworthy to be trusted with the government and defence of a whole people. For their courage and understanding can be but of a very low kind.——However, possibly the same reason which induced *James* to pardon *Somerſet*, made him bear the insolence of *Buckingham*.

[4 B] He professed himself a protestant, and boasted of his having been a kind of martyr for that profession, —but he suffered those of that persuasion in France and Germany, to be oppressed by the houses of *Bourbon*, and *Austria*.] In his speech to the parliament in the year 1624, we have the following expressions. “What religion I am of, my books do declare, my profession and behaviour doth shew; and I hope in God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I shall never deserve it; and for my part, I wish it may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion; for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with men.

“My lords, for my part, I protest before God, that my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase of popery; God is my judge, it hath been such a great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my sides; and so far I have been, and shall be, from turning another way. And, my lords and gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that one way or other it hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not have been an honest man, if I should have done otherwise. And

without affording them assistance of any value ;

(a) Frank-
land's An-
nals, p. 101.

(b) King
James's
work's, p.
544.

“ this I may say further, that if I be not a martyr, I
 “ am sure I am a confessor ; and in some sense I may be
 “ called a martyr, as in the scripture, *Isaac* was perse-
 “ cuted by *Ishmael*, by mocking words ; for never king
 “ suffered more ill-tongues than I have done ; and I
 “ am sure for no cause.” (a) — Long before this, in
 “ the year 1609, in a speech at Whitehall, he says,
 “ that with his own pen he had brought the popes quar-
 “ rel upon him, and proclaimed publique defiance to
 “ Babylon.” (b) Would not one think from thence
 that James had the protestant interest at heart, and that
 he was a mighty champion for it ? that he had taken it
 under his protection, and had fought zealously in its
 cause ? those who knew not the man, might have been
 imposed on by his speeches ; such as did, could not.
 We have seen his unaccountable behaviour in the busi-
 ness of the Palatinate, the loss of which had well nigh
 terminated in the total ruin of the protestant religion in
 Germany, as also of the liberties of Europe. For *Fer-*
dinand the second, aimed at nothing less than being ab-
 solute master over the Germanic body, and in conjunc-
 tion with Spain, to have given the law to all around
 him. The consequence of which must have been the
 total extirpation of the reformed every where. But
James was no way alarmed at the consequence. He
 would not endeavour to prevent it, but remained in a
 manner neuter, if you'll believe him, “ for conscience,
 “ honour, and examples sake. In regard of conscience
 “ judging it unlawful to inthroned or dethrone kings for
 “ religions sake ; having a quarrel againsts the jesuits,
 “ for holding that opinion. Besides, he saw the world
 “ inclined to make that a war of religion, which he
 “ would never do. In point of honor ; for that when
 “ he sent his ambassador into Germany, to treat of
 “ peace, in the interim, his son-in-law had taken the
 “ crown upon him. And for examples sake ; holding
 “ it a dangerous president against all christian princes,
 “ to

lue; directly contrary to all the maxims of good

“ to allow a sudden translation of crowns by the people’s authority.” (c) With such pretences as these did he cover his cowardice, and his unconcern about the civil and religious rights of Europe. (c) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 16.

Wars to propagate religion, are whimsical and impious: But wars for the defence of its professors, may be very just and lawful. To have assisted *Frederick* and his honest Bohemians; to have encouraged and kept together the princes of the union; to have diverted the power of Spain, which was at the command of *Ferdinand*; and by every honest art to have risen a force capable of withstanding the emperor, was at that time incumbent on a king of Great Britain. This I know has been denied by a very able writer, (d) who asserts “ that if *James* had entered into an immediate war to maintain the elector Palatine on the throne of *Bohemia*, he must have exhausted and ruined this nation to support it.” But I must confess I cannot see that this would have been the event. The princes of the union were, ’tis true, not so closely connected in temper and interest as might have been wished; France weakly refused to aid the foes of *Ferdinand*; and the popish party at that time was most powerful: But still a resistance might have been made; and had *James* had skill and courage enough to have joined in it, it might have been effectual to have withstood the attempts towards bringing on the whole world a blind superstition, and a lawless rule. (d) Oldcastle’s remarks, p. 285.

To talk of ruining and exhausting the British nation by engaging in this war as a principal, is, in my opinion, unworthy of the penetration and abilities of this writer. Was *France* ruined and exhausted by encountering this same *Ferdinand*, when his power by success was much more formidable than it now was? did not *Richlieu* obtain the greatest glory by advising the assistance of *Gustavus Adolphus*; by supporting him with money and troops; by drawing off the confederates of the emperor,

good policy, and the conduct of queen *Elizabeth*, who valued herself, not unjustly, on the

and engaging every State possibly against him? Might not the same thing have been done by *James*, and that without injuring the British, any more than *Lewis* the thirteenth did the French nation? *Gustavus Adolphus* indeed was a great captain, and headed a brave army: But a great captain and a brave army could not have been wanting, had the king of Great Britain fallen heartily into the war, and supported it, as the king of France afterwards did by the persons and purses of his people. In short as a protestant, *James* was concerned to prevent the encrease of the power of *Ferdinand*, and hinder him from triumphing; for every victory of his was a wound to the interest of the religion professed by him.

But we see that he was so far from doing what he ought to have done in this matter, that he suffered the Bohemians to be reduced; his son-in-law to be expelled his dominions; and the protestants to be brought to the very brink of ruin in Germany; from which only they were delivered by the force of *Gustavus*, and the abilities of *Richlieu*. Nor were the reformed in France more indebted to *James*, than those in the empire. At his accession to the English throne, the dukes *la Tremouille*, and *Bouillon*, together with the famous *du Plessis*, had a design to make him protector of the calvinist party in France. (e) But they soon laid aside their design after having had a thorough knowledge of his character. For no man interested himself less than *James* in their affairs, no prince gave them less assistance. He refused to speak to *Henry the fourth* in favour of *Bouillon*, when solicited by him to do it, because he said it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebel subject. (f) And though the reformed were a very considerable body in France, possessed of places of strength and importance and capable with proper help, of making head against all their enemies, as they had fully manifested in the former

(e) See
Sully's memoirs, Vol.
II. p. 15.

(f) Id. ibid.

the aids she from time to time had given them, to her own, as well as their great advantage.

mer civil wars: though they were thus powerful, and consequently important, he stood tamely by, and saw them divested of their strong holds, and rendered almost wholly insignificant as a party. 'Tis true, *James* kept up a kind of correspondence with *Bouillon*, whom at first he had refused to intercede for, and by him gave assurances of his " assisting the reformed if the whole " body was assailed, the edicts broken, and they in " danger of apparent ruin: in which case (says *Buckingham*, in a letter to Sir Thomas *Edmonds*) his majesty doth engage himself to assist them; which " though he should have no other means to perform, he " will call a parliament for that purpose, not doubting " but his people will be as ready to furnish him with " means, as his majesty to engage himself to aid them " in that cause." (g) But *James* was not as good as

(g) Birch's view of the negotiations, &c. p. 406.

his word. The reformed were assailed soon after, though not in a body; the edicts were broken in numberless instances, particularly in taking from them their strong towns; and they were in danger of apparent ruin; (h) and yet I know not that *James* afforded them the least assistance, any farther than by ordering his ambassadors to use their their good offices on their behalf. " Yea, we are assured by the duke of *Rohan* himself, " one of the protestant chiefs, that *James* urged him by " letters (in any case) to make a peace, and to submit " to, and wholly rely upon the promises of his own sovereign, pressing him moreover to consider the affairs " of his son-in-law, and assuring him that he could not " possibly give the reformed any assistance." (i)

(h) See Howell's letters, p. 90. and Hist. of the edict of Nantz, Vol. II. p. 343, 420.

(i) Duke of Rohan's discourse upon the peace made before Montpellier, p. 44. at the end of his memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1660.

Had the reformed been properly aided during the minority of *Lewis the thirteenth*, their power probably would have been so great, that *Richlieu's* arts would not have overturned it: nor would France have given that disturbance to Europe she did, under *Lewis the fourteenth*.—" Advantages, (says a noble author) might have

vantage. Though he was not a catholic in persuasion, he favoured those that were, provided

“ have been taken of the divisions which religion occasioned ; and supporting the protestant party in France, would have kept that crown under restraints, and under inabilities, in some measure equal to those which were occasioned anciently by the vast alienations of its demesnes, and by the exorbitant power of its vassals. But *James* the first was incapable of thinking with sense, or acting with spirit.” (k)

(k) Bolingbroke's letters on the study and use of history, Vol. II. p. 181. 8vo. Lond. 1752.

And the writer of *Tom Tell-Troath*, addressed to *James*, and printed about the year 1622, has the following passage. “ They (the French protestants) are indeed so many hostages which God almighty has put into your majesties hands to secure you, and your majesties dominions, from all danger of that country ; and to lose them were no other (in my opinion) than wilfully to tempt God, to deliver us into the hands of our enemies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But they once gone, your brother of France will quickly shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience he owes him (the pope) is with any good-will he can bear your majestie. Since then the Tye you have upon that princes friendship is of so loose a knot, what can your majesty do better for yourself, and yours, than to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his country, as those of the religion.” (l)

(l) Harleian Mssellany, Vol. II. 512.

What Mr. *Kelly* means by saying *James* made the interest of the protestants his own, on more than one occasion, I know not. He refers us indeed to the embassies of Sir Edward *Herbert*, and the earl of *Carlisle* into France, in order to intercede for the Hugonots, the latter of whom he observes from *Rapin*, spent vast sums, and consequently his master must be much in earnest to do them service. (m) But what service did *James* do them? what success had his applications?

(m) See Kelly's supplemental remarks on the life of James I. p. 7. fol. Lond.

none

vided they would swear allegiance unto him ;
and he not only relaxed [4 c] the rigour of
the

none ; and therefore we may be sure, he very little regarded them. Had this gentleman known the character of the earl of *Carlisle* as one of the most expensive, luxurious men then living, he would have interpreted the words of *Rapin* as he ought. The vast sums spent by *Carlisle*, were not on the business of the Hugonots, or to promote their affairs ; but in dress, equipage and house-keeping, in which he knew no bounds. But I ask pardon for taking so much notice of the mistakes of a writer of so little consequence, either as to knowledge or judgment.

[4 c] He not only relaxed the rigor of the laws in their favour, but consented to such terms for them in the marriage articles with Spain and France, as few of his protestants subjects approved.] It appears from a letter of Matthew *Hutton*, arch-bishop of York, to *Cecyll*, lord Cranborne, dated December 18, 1604, that the papists by “ reason of some extraordinary favour “ were grown mightily in number, courage, and influence.” (a) They were in great hopes of a toleration, when they saw *James* set against the puritans ; and it became so much the general expectation among them, that in order to clear himself of having intentions of granting it to them, his majesty thought proper to declare that “ he never intended it, and would “ spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, “ and uttered that imprecation on his posterity, if they “ should maintain any other religion, than what he “ truly professed and maintained,” of which I have before taken notice. (b)

(a) Win-
wood, Vol.
II. p. 40.

(b) Id. p.
49. and
note [11]

Not content herewith, he ordered the laws against them to be put in execution, and they underwent many of them great hardships. (c) Upon the discovery of the popish plot, there was a general prosecution of all papists set on foot, as might well be expected : “ but
“ king

(c) See *Of*
born, p. 481.

the laws in their favour, but consented to such

“ king *James* was very uneasy at it, says *Burnet*,
 “ which was much encreased by what Sir *Dudley Car-*
 “ *lton* told him upon his return from Spain, where he
 “ had been ambassador; (which I had from lord *Hollis*,
 “ who said to me, that Sir *Dudley Carleton* told it to
 “ himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had
 “ an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When
 “ he came home, he found the king at *Theobalds*
 “ hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner:
 “ and upon that, in order to the putting him on a
 “ more careful looking to himself, he told the king he
 “ must either give over that way of hunting, or stop
 “ another hunting he was engaged in, which was priest
 “ hunting: For he had intelligence in Spain, that the
 “ priests were comforting themselves with this, that if
 “ he went on against them, they would soon get rid of
 “ him.——The king sent for him in private to en-
 “ quire more particularly into this; and he saw it had
 “ made a great impression on him, but wrought other-
 “ wise than he intended. For the king resolved to gra-
 “ tify his humour in hunting, and in a careless and ir-
 “ regular way of life, did immediately order all that
 “ prosecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the
 “ council books of the year 1606, which are full of or-
 “ ders to discharge and transport priests, sometimes ten
 “ in a day.” (d)—I was inclined at first to call this
 whole story of *Burnet*’s into question, by reason that
Carleton was never ambassador into Spain: (e) but on
 further search find it probable enough.

(d) *Burnet*,
 Vol. I. p.
 11,

(e) See
Wood’s a-
thenæ,
Oxon, Vol.
 I. col. 563.

(f) *Win-*
wood, Vol.
 II. p. 54,
 57. and
Birch’s
 view of the
 negotiation,
 p. 227.

For *Carleton* in the year 1605, accompanied the lord
Norris into Spain, and there might hear what he is said
 to have spoken to *James*. (f) So that there is only a
 small mistake in *Burnet*, and his account is very proba-
 ble. For tho’ laws were enacted against the catholics,
 and the judges commanded on occasion to put them in
 execution, yet *James* had a great affection for them,
 and conferred on them many marks of his favour.

Let

such terms for them, in the marriage articles
with

Let us hear an indisputable writer on this matter, even *James* himself. “Not only, says he, the papists themselves grew to that height of pride, in confidence of my mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves libertie of conscience, and equalitie with other of my subjects in all things; but even a number of the best and faithfulliest of my said subjects, were cast in great fear and amazement of my course and proceedings, ever prognosticating and justly suspecting that sower fruit to come of it, which shewed itself early in the powder-treason. How many did I honor with knighthood, of known and open recusants? how indifferently did I give audience, and access to both sides, bestowing equally all favours and honors on both professions? How free and continual access had all ranks and degrees of papists in my court and company? and above all, how frankly and freely did I free recusants of their ordinary payments? Besides, it is evident what strait order was given out of my own mouth to the judges, to spare the execution of all priests, (notwithstanding their conviction) joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all priests that were at liberty, and not taken, might goe out of the country by such a day: my general pardon having been extended to all convicted priests in prison: whereupon they were set at libertie as good subjects: and all priests that were taken after, sent over, and set at libertie there. But time and paper will fail me, to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I bestowed in general, and particular upon papists.” (g)——There is a great deal of truth in these lines. The *Howards*, most of them catholics, were advanced to honors and power by him; the families of *Petre*, and *Arundel*, of the same persuasion, were admitted into the peerage; and in the latter part of his reign, we find *Villiers* his mother made a countess, and *Calvert*, secretary of state, created

(g) King
James's
works, p.
253.

with Spain and France, as but very few of his

created lord *Baltimore*, though they were openly of the romish communion. In the year 1610, we find the commons complaining of the “ non execution of the laws against the priests who, say they, are the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty;” and, continue they, in a petition to *James*, “ many recusants have already compounded, and (as it is to be feared) more and more (except your majesty in your great wisdom, prevent the same) will compound with those that beg their penalties, which maketh the laws altogether fruitless, or of little or none effect, and the offenders to become bold, obdurate, and uncorrectable. Wherefore they entreat his majestie to lay his royal commands upon all his ministers of justice both ecclesiastical and civil, to see the laws made against jesuits, seminarie priests and recusants (of what kind and sect soever) to be duly and exactly executed, without dread or delay. And that his majestie would be pleased likewise to take into his own hands the penalties due for recusancie, and that the same be not converted to the private gain of some, to his majesties infinite loss, the emboldening of the papists, and decay of true religion.” (b)——But notwithstanding these complaints of the parliament; notwithstanding, *James’s own heart bled, when he heard of the increase of popery*, by the marriage articles with Spain and France, many things were granted in their favour, and consequently the papists were mightily encouraged. The infantia was to be allowed a chapel in the palace, and a public church in London; all her servants were to be catholics, under the authority of a bishop, or his vicar; they were not to be liable to the laws of England with regard to religion; though the children begot on her body, should be catholics, they might not lose the right of succeeding to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain; and they were to be brought up by her till the age of ten years. Besides these articles,

(b) Record of some worthy proceedings in the honourable, wise, and faithful house of commons, in the late parliament, p. 19. printed in 1611. 12mo.

his protestant subjects, who were independent

with many other made public, there were private ones by which great liberty was given to those of the romish church. For by these *James* promised that the laws in being against them, should not be commanded to be put in execution; that no new laws for the future should be enacted to their hurt, that there should be a perpetual toleration of the roman catholic religion, within private houses, throughout all his dominions; and that he would do his endeavour, that the parliament should ratify all and singular articles, in favour of the roman catholics. (i) About the same time a declaration was signed by lord Conway, and others in his majesty's name, dated Aug. 7, 1623, touching pardons, suspensions, and dispensations for the roman catholics, which, in the opinion of the earl of *Bristol*, the great negotiator of the Spanish match, in effect was little less than a toleration. (k) And "the king directed the lord keeper

" (*Williams*) and other commissioners, to draw up a " pardon for all offences past, with a dispensation for " those to come, to be granted to all roman catholics, " obnoxious to any laws against recusants; and then to " issue forth two general commands under the great " seal of England: the one to all judges and justices of " the peace; and the other to all bishops, chancellors, " and commissaries, not to execute any statute against " them." (l)——The Spanish match took not place; but prince *Charles* was married to *Henrietta Maria*, of France; and *James* before his death, signed articles equally as favourable to the English catholics, as conditions to that match. (m) This cardinal *Richlieu* boasts of. "The Spanish match, says he, was broken off, " and soon after it, that of France was treated of, concluded and accomplished, with conditions three times " more advantageous for religion, than those which " were designed to be proposed in the late king's " (*Henry the fourth*) time." (n) This was the man who never intended to grant a toleration to papists, who would

(i) See Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 86—89.

Frankland's annals, p. 78—80.

(k) Rushworth, Vol. I. p. 283.

(l) Id. p. 101.

(m) Id. p. 162.

(n) Political testament, p. 7.

See also his letters, Vol. I. p. 2. 265, 8vo. Lond. 1698.

dant of the court, approved, and many greatly

would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, and whose heart bled when he heard of the encrease of popery. Vile hypocrisy! mean dissimulation! which could answer no other purpose than to expose himself to the scorn, and contempt of those who knew him. What the favour which was shewn the catholics when the Spanish match was thought near a conclusion, was, will best appear from the following paragraph in a letter written, if I am not greatly mistaken, by *Buckingham* to count *Gondomar*, then in Spain.—“As for news
 “from hence, I can assure you, that they are, in all
 “points, as your heart could wish: for here is a king,
 “a prince, and a faithful friend and servant unto you,
 “besides a number of your other good friends, that
 “long so much for the happy accomplishment of this
 “match, as every day seems a year unto us; and I can
 “assure you, in the word of your honest friend, that
 “we have a prince here, that is so sharp set upon the
 “business, as it would much comfort you to see it, and
 “her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared
 “upon our parts; priests and recusants all at liberty;
 “all the roman catholics well satisfied; and, which
 “will seem a wonder unto you, our prisons are emptied
 “of priests and recusants, and filled with zealous mini-
 “sters, for preaching against the match; for no man
 “can sooner, now, mutter a word in the pulpit, tho’
 “indirectly against it, but he is presently caught, and
 “set in streight prison. We have also published orders,
 “both for the universities, and the pulpits, that no
 “man hereafter shall meddle, but to preach Christ cru-
 “cified; nay, it shall not be lawful hereafter for them
 “to rail against the pope, or the doctrine of the church
 “of Rome, further than for edification of ours: and
 “for proof hereof, you shall herewith, receive the or-
 “ders set down and published.” (o) — This great li-
 berty given to the catholics was highly offensive to the
 protestants, as we may learn from what follows, which

greatly murmured at. The church of England, under *James*, was in a happy state, being

was written by arch-bishop *Abbot*, to *James* on occasion of it.——“ Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion: I beseech you, to take into your consideration, what your act is, and what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon, how hateful will it be to God, and grievous to your subjects, (the true professors of the gospel) that your majesty who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable.—Besides, this toleration you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, it cannot be done without a parliament, unless your majesty will let your subjects see, that you now take unto yourself a liberty to throw down the laws of the land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequences these things may draw after, I beseech your majesty to consider. And above all, lest by this toleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the gospel, (wherewith God hath blessed us, and under which this kingdom hath flourished these many years) your majesty doth draw upon the kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God’s heavie wrath and indignation. Thus, in discharge of my duty to your majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken the humble boldness to deliver my conscience. And, now Sir, do with me what you please.” (p) I will not here enter into the question whether the intolerant principles of the Roman catholics do not render them unfit to be tolerated amongst protestants. All I shall say, is, that it has been the opinion of some of the best friends to liberty, that they are to be excluded from it, for the preservation of liberty

(p) Cabala,
p. 114.
Rushworth,
Vol. I.
p. 85.

being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him, [4 D] yea, moreover advanced to

(q) See Bayley's dict. article milton, note [o]

ty itself ; with which it is thought, their principles are incompatible. (q) But be this as it will, it cannot be at all wondered at, that the protestants in *James's* reign should be alarmed at an open toleration of those of the communion of the church of Rome. For they could not but remember the bull of pope *Pius* the fifth, concerning the damnation, excommunication, and deposition of queen *Elizabeth*, and the plots which in consequence thereof, were laid against her life: They could not but remember the detestable powder treason; nor could they forget that *James* himself had publickly avowed that the pope of Rome was anti-christ, the man of sin, the mother of harlots, and abominations, who was drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus. And remembring these things, could they chuse but murmur against the toleration of so bloody a sect, or look on *Buckingham* the supposed instrument of it, but as a betrayer of king and country, and as odious, as he himself declares they did. (r)

(r) Cabala, p. 244.

(a) See article the 19th.

[4 D] The church of England under *James* was in a flourishing state, being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him.] When I speak of the church, I would not be understood to mean "a congregation of faithful men," as our articles in an antiquated manner define it ; (a) but *the clergy*, who have for a long time appropriated that term to *themselves*, and the *places* in which they officiate: And when I speak of the church as in a flourishing state, I mean, what I think, churchmen generally mean by it, their possessing power, honor and wealth; and not the increase of unfeigned piety, and real virtue.—That in this sense the church of England flourished under *James*, is beyond all contradiction. In a speech in the star-chamber, in the year 1616, his majesty complains "that churchmen were had in too much contempt, I must speak trewth, says he

to riches, honor, and power: whereby she became

“ he, great men, lords, judges, and people of all degrees from the highest to the lowest, have too much contemned them. And God will not bless us in our own laws, if we do not reverence and obey God’s law; which cannot be, except the interpreters of it be respected and revered, and it is a sign of the latter day’s drawing on; even the contempt of the church, and of the governors and teachers thereof now in the *church of England*, which I say in my conscience of any church that ever I read or knew of, present or past, is most pure, and nearest the primitive and apostolical church in doctrine and discipline, and is sureliest founded on the word of God, of any church in Christendome.” (b) In the same speech he tells the judges, “ God will bless every good business the better, that he and his church have the precedence.” (c) And again, addressing himself to the judges, he says, “ Let not the church nor churchmen, be disgraced in your charges;—countenance and encourage the good churchmen, and teach the people by your example to reverence them: for if they be good, they are worthy of double honor for their office sake; if they be faultie it is not your place to admonish them; they have another *Forum* to answer to for their misbehaviour.” (d) And in another place, he tells us, “ that as soon as a person hath made his choice what church to live and die in, *audi eam*, as Christ commands: for his conscience in this must only serve him for a guide to the right church, but not to judge her, but to be judged by her.” (e)

(b) King James’s works, p. 554.
(c) Id. p. 565.

(d) Id. p. 569.

(e) Id. p.

This is very good, and what most churchmen would be very glad their flocks did believe. For they then might teach authoratively, and a blind submission would be yielded. Profane wits would not think themselves at liberty to examine the reasonableness of the churches doctrine, but swallow down glibly the most mysterious unintelligible points, to their own great edification, and

became in a condition to be both dreaded,
and

the peace of the church.—But *James* not only spoke well of churchmen, and endeavoured to recommend them to the esteem and regard of his subjects, but he heaped on them wealth, and suffered them to enjoy riches in abundance. “He founded a dean and chapter of seven prebendaries at *Rippon*, in Yorkshire; and “settled two hundred and forty-seven pounds per ann.

(f) Grey's examination of the second volume of Neal's history of the puritans, p. 75. 8vo. Lond. 1736.
(g) Cabala, p. 409.

“of crown lands for their maintenance.” (f) *Williams*, dean of *Westminster*, retained at the same time, as himself tells the duke of *Buckingham*, the rectories of *Dinum*, *Walgrave*, *Grafton*, and *Peterborough*, and was also chaunter of *Lincoln*, prebendary of *Asgarbie*, prebendary of *Nonnington*, and residentiary of *Lincoln*. (g) And when advanced to the see of *Lincoln*, and made lord-keeper of the great seal, he was continued dean of *Westminster*, and held his other preferments; so that,

(b) Life of Laud, p. 86.

says *Heylin*, he was a perfect diocess within himself, as being bishop, dean, prebend, residentiary, and parson; and all these at once. (b) This was a goodly sight in the eyes of *Laud*, who made use of the example, in retaining with his bishopric of *St. Davids*, not only his prebends place in the church of *Westminster*, and his benefices in the country, but also the presidentships of his colledge in *Oxon*. (i) In short the churchmen throve well under *James*, and were greatly cherished by him. For to the wealth he permitted them to enjoy, he added real power, and gave them liberty to crush all their opposers.—

(i) Id. ibid.

In the canons compiled anno 1603, to which his majesty gave his royal sanction, we find that whoever should hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship in the church of England, established by law, and contained in the book of common prayer, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the scriptures; whosoever should affirm that any of the thirty-nine articles, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe

and envied by her adversaries. Not so the puritans. These were the objects of his majesty's

subscribe unto; whosoever should affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the church were such as men who were godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; whosoever should affirm the government of the church of England under his majesty, by arch-bishops, &c. is antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God, were to be excommunicated. (k) The same punishment was denounced against the authors of schism, the maintainers of schismatics and maintainers of conventicles. (l) Thus were churchmen armed with power, with which, we may be assured, they took care to defend themselves and annoy their adversaries. Add to this that the high commission was then in being, in which the bishops were the judges who by administering the oath *ex officio*, compelled men to accuse themselves, and then punished them in the severest manner. 'Twas this court which obliged the renowned *Selden*, to make his submission, and beg pardon for having published his book on tythes; (m) though most learned men since that time, have acquiesced in what he has asserted concerning their original; and before this, we find by a complaint of the parliament, that "lay-men were punished by this court for speaking of the symonie and other misdemeanours of spiritual men, though the thing spoken were true, and the speech tending to bring them to condigne punishment." (n)—Such was the power of the clergy under *James*, such was the use that was made of it! honest, learned, and worthy men were called in question, and subjected to all the terrible consequences of that thing called an excommunication, for daring to tell churchmen of their vices, or denying their whimsical pretences. This at length bred much ill-blood, and issued in dreadful consequences. Let the prince therefore that would reign gloriously, curb the power of his clergy; let him

(k) see canons, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

(l) In canons 9, 10, 11.

(m) Heylin's history of the presbyterians p. 392.

(n) Record of some proceedings in the parliament, anno 1610, p. 29.

majesty's highest aversion, [4 E] and greatest hatred ;

never be made the tool of their wrath or resentment ; but by distributing equal and impartial justice to all his subjects, shew himself their common father and sovereign, and thereby establish his throne in their hearts, and render it immoveable.

[4 E] The puritans were the objects of his highest aversion, &c.] This appears from what has been said in the notes [M] and [MM] so clearly, that I need say no more concerning it. But *James* contented not himself with reproaching them, but he let his clergy loose upon them, and subjected them to great penalties merely on account of their non conformity to the established ceremonies. *Hutton*, arch-bishop of York, received orders from the privy-council, " that the puritans " should be proceeded against according to law, except " they conformed themselves ; tho' I think, says he, " all or most of them love his majesty, and the present " estate." (a) And says Sir Dudley *Carleton* in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, dated Feb. 20, 1604, " the poor " puritan ministers have been ferrited out in all corners, " and some of them suspended, others deprived of their " livings. Certain lecturers are silenced, and a crew of " gentlemen of Northamptonshire, who put up a petition " to the king in their behalfe, told roundly of their " boldness, both at the council-table and star-chamber : " and Sir Francis *Hastings* for drawing the petition, " and standing to it, when he had done it, put from " his lieutenancy and justiceship of the peace in his shire : " Sir Edward *Mountague*, and Sir Valentine *Knightly*, " for refusing to subscribe to a submission, have the " like sentence : the rest upon acknowledgment of a " fault have no more said to them." (b)——And his majesty summoned the judges into the star-chamber, and in the presence of the arch-bishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, and about twelve lords of the privy-council, asked of them three questions with regard to

(a) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 47.

(b) *Winwood*, Vol. II. p. 48.

these he was continually reproaching in his writings ;

to the punishment of the puritans ; the third of which was, “ whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed petitions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause, as the puritans had done, with an intimation to the king, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented ?” To this the judges in their great wisdom replied, “ that it was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion and discontent among the people.” (c) This judicious resolution was agreed to by the lords then present. *Bancroft* hereupon “ required a strict conformity to the rules of the church, according to the laws and canons in that behalf ; and without sparing non-conformists, or half-conformists, at last reduced them to that point, that they must either leave their churches, or obey the church.” (d) And that none might escape the penalties of the canons and high commission court, this pious prelate required “ some who had formerly subscribed to testify their conformity by a new subscription, in which it was to be declared, that they did willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to the three articles (inserted in the 36th canon,) and to all things in the same contained. Which leaving no starting-hole either for practising those rites and ceremonies which they did not approve, or for approving that which they meant not to practice, as they had done formerly ; occasioned many of them to forsake their benefices, rather than to subscribe according to the true intention of the church in the said three articles.” (e) In short such was the rigor of the prelates, such the sufferings of the puritans, that we find the parliament in the year 1610, interceding with the king in their behalf. “ Whereas, say they, divers painful and learned pastors, that have long travelled

(c) Croke's reports, part 2d. p. 37. and Winwood, Vol. 2d. p. 49.

(d) Heylin's history of the presbyterians p. 376.

(e) Id. p. 377.

writings; and not contented herewith he
exposed

(f) Proceed-
ings in the
house of
commons,
in 1610.

“ in the work of the ministerie with good fruit and
“ blessing of their labours, who were ever ready to per-
“ form the legal subscription appointed by the statute of
“ 13 Eliz. which only concerneth the confession of the
“ true christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments,
“ yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies,
“ and refusing the subscription directed by the late
“ canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical
“ livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all
“ means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundrie
“ your majesties well-affected subjects; seeing the whole
“ people, that want instruction, are by this means
“ punished, and through ignorance, lye open to the
“ seducements of popish, and ill-affected persons: We
“ therefore most humbly beseech, your majesty would
“ be graciously pleased, that such deprived and silenced
“ ministers may by licence, or permission of the re-
“ verend fathers, in their severall diocesses, instruct,
“ and preach unto their people in such parishes, and
“ places, where they may be employed: so as they ap-
“ ply themselves, in their ministry to wholesome doc-
“ trine, and exhortation, and live quietly, and peace-
“ ably in their callings, and shall not by writing or
“ preaching, impugn things established by public au-
“ thority.” (f)——Soon after this *Bancroft* died, and
“ was succeeded by *George Abbot*, a man of a more gen-
“ tle and merciful disposition, who was much more fa-
“ vourable to the puritans than his predecessor. But the
“ rigor against them was far from being wholly remitted.
“ They were so ill-used, that they preferred dwelling in a
“ wilderness to their native soil, and chose the perils of
“ waters before the perils they were in among their bre-
“ thren; though for a time even this was denied them.
“ Some of the bishops, says *Wilson*, were not contented
“ to suppress many pious and religious men; but I know
“ not for what policy, restrained their going beyond
“ sea: for there were divers families, about this time,
“ (1613)

exposed them to the censure of the high
commission,

“(1613) shipp’d for New-England, and were not suf-
fered to go ; though afterwards, they were upon bet-
ter thoughts permitted.” (g)——In short *James* (g) *Wilson*,
heartily hated the people of this denomination ; and to be a puritan, was with him, to be every thing odious
and abominable. How mischievous an effect this pre-
judice of his majesty had, will best appear from a letter
written to the illustrious *Usher*, from *Emanuel Downing*,
out of Ireland, who is stiled a worthy divine, by
Dr. Parr. P. 74.

Reverend Sir,

“ I hope you are not ignorant of the hurt that is
“ come to the church by this name *Puritan*, and how
“ his majesty’s good intent and meaning therein is
“ much abused and wronged ; and especially in this
“ poor country where the pope and popery is so much
“ affected. I being lately in the country had confe-
“ rence with a worthy, painful preacher, who hath
“ been an instrument of drawing many of the meer
“ Irish there, from the blindness of popery to embrace
“ the gospel, with much comfort to themselves, and
“ heart-breaking to the priests, who perceiving that
“ they cannot now prevail with their juggling tricks,
“ have forged a new device : They have now stirred
“ up some crafty papists, who very boldly rail both at
“ ministers and people, saying, they seek to sow this
“ damnable heresie of *puritanism* among them ; which
“ word, though not understood, but only known to
“ be most odious to his majesty, makes many afraid of
“ joining themselves to the gospel, though in confe-
“ rence their consciences are convicted herein : so to
“ prevent a greater mischief which may follow, it
“ were good to petition his majesty to define a *puritan*,
“ whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would
“ be stopt ; and if his majesty be not at leizure, that he
“ would appoint some good men to do it for him.” (b) *Parr’s*
life of *Usher*,
— Had P. 16.

commission, who suspended, deprived and excommunicated them, notwithstanding the intercession

——Had a puritan been truly defined, the world would have been at a loss to have known the reason of the severity used towards those who were reproached with that title.——The puritans had their fancies, as well as their adversaries. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some other articles of equal importance were the objects of their aversion; they thought they smelt of popery, which they could not bear with. The bishops on the contrary had a very great fondness for these, as well as for the whole hierarchy. A dispute therefore on these subjects was natural; and had it been managed fairly no ill consequences could have happened. But the bishops were in power; the king was their friend, and a foe to those who opposed them; and they were determined to carry their point at all adventures. The shortest way therefore was taken. The puritans were silenced, deprived, excommunicated, and all for trifles. I will not say but the bishops might have more sense, but the puritans had more honesty. The first were persecutors, the latter were persecuted; and consequently were entitled to the pity and compassion of the humane and benevolent.——*James* and his clergy did not under-

(i) Hartley's observations on man, p. 377. Vol. II. 8vo. Lond. 1749. See also historical and critical account of Hugh Peters, note [c] Lond. 1751. 8vo. (k) Bacon's essay on the vicissitude of things.

stand the use of sects, “to purify religion, and also to set the great truths of it in a full light; and to shew their practical importance.” (i) Nor did they know “the best way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, by reforming abuses, compounding smaller differences, proceeding mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and taking off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, rather than enraging them by violence and bitterness;” (k) and consequently instead of crushing, they increased them. For lord *Shaftesbury* justly remarks, “that there is nothing so ridiculous in respect of policy, or so wrong and odious in respect of common humanity, as a moderate

intercession made for them by many persons of quality, and by one of his parliaments.

In

“ derate and half way persecution ; it only frets the
 “ fore ; it raises the ill-humour of mankind ; excites
 “ the keener spirits ; moves indignation in beholders ;
 “ and sows the very seeds of schism in men’s bosoms.
 “ A resolute and bold faced *persecution* leaves no time or
 “ scope for these engendring distempers, or gathering
 “ ill-humours. It does the work at once ; by extirpa-
 “ tion, banishment, or massacre : and like a bold stroke
 “ in surgery, dispatches by one short amputation, what
 “ a bungling hand would make worse and worse, to
 “ the perpetual sufferance and misery of the patient.”

(l)——But let us leave these reflections and return to *James*, who was as much set on the ruin of puritanism in *Scotland*, as in *England*. In the Parliament at *Perth*, in the year 1606, he got an act passed entituled the restitution of the estate of bishops : afterwards they were declared perpetual moderators, and had the high commission put into their hands. In 1610, the king sent for three of the bishops elect, in order to have them consecrated in *England*, which was done without first giving them deacons or priests orders ; and consequently the validity of their former orders were acknowledged. Soon afterwards they had great power committed unto them, to the no small uneasiness of ministers and people. (m) In the year 1617, *James* made a progress into *Scotland*, in order to bring the *Scots* nearer to conformity with the church of *England*.

(l) Characteristicks, Vol. III. p. 95.

(m) Spottiswoode, p. 406. Calderwood, p. 616.

“ But his majesty, says *Heylin*, gained nothing by
 “ that chargeable journey, but a neglect of his com-
 “ mands, and a contempt of his authority. His ma-
 “ jesty therefore took a better course, than to put the
 “ point to argument and disputation ; which was to
 “ beat them by the belly, and to withdraw those aug-
 “ mentations which he had formerly allowed them out
 “ of his exchequer : which pill so wrought upon this
 “ indigent and obstinate people, that the next year in an
 “ assembly

In Scotland he pursued them with rigour, and was not contented till he set up episcopacy, though contrary to the inclinations of ministers,

(n) Life of
Laud, p.
74.

(o) Spots-
wood, p.
538.

(p) Craw-
ford's Lives,
p. 174.

(q) See spi-
rit of laws,
Vol II. p.
150.

“ assembly at *Perth*, they passed an act for admitting
“ the five articles, for which his majesty had been
“ courting them for two years together.” (n) These
articles which his majesty had courted them so long to ad-
mit, it must be owned, were very important. The
first requires the blessed sacrament to be celebrated meek-
ly and reverently upon their knees. The second allows
the lawfulness of private communion. The third per-
mits private baptism. The fourth commands confir-
mation. The fifth the observation of some festivals. (o)
“ These articles being thus settled, order was given to
“ read them in all parish churches ; the ministers were
“ likewise obliged to preach upon the lawfulness of
“ them, and exhort their people to submission. And
“ to give them the greater authority, the king ordered
“ them to be published at the market cross of the prin-
“ cipal burroughs, and commanded conformity under
“ pain of his displeasure. But all this not being enough
“ to enforce such a conformity to the ceremonies as was
“ expected, it was thought further necessary to establish
“ them by the sanction of an act of parliament, and to
“ give them the force of a law, this was done accord-
“ ingly in the year 1621.” (p) A prince must be
strangely infatuated, and strongly prejudiced to employ
his power and influence in establishing such matters as
these ! Let us grant episcopacy to be the most expedient
government of the church, (and expedient enough it
must be acknowledged in proper places, (q) and rightly
executed, by overseeing the manners of the clergy, and
keeping them within the bounds of decency and regula-
rity ;) yet what man of sense will think it worth esta-
blishing at the risk of the peace of the community ? Let
rites and ceremonies be deemed ever so decent ; who
will say they are fit to be imposed by methods of severity
and constraint ? yet by these ways, we see, these mat-
ters

ministers, and people. Being seized with an ague, he died March 27, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, [4 F] not without suspicion of

ters were introduced among the Scots ; to the disgrace of humanity, and the eternal blemish of a prince who boasted of his learning, and was forever displaying his abilities.

[4 E] He died not without suspicion of having been poisoned by *Buckingham*.] “ The king that was very
 “ much impatient in his health, was patient in his sickness and death. Whether he had received any thing
 “ that extorted his aguish fits into a fever, which might
 “ the sooner stupify the spirits, and hasten his end cannot be asserted ; but the countess of *Buckingham* had
 “ been tampering with him, in the absence of the doctors, and had given him a medicine to drink, and
 “ laid a plaister to his side, which the king much complained of, and they did rather exasperate his distemper than allay it : and these things were admitted
 “ by the insinuating persuasions of the duke her son, who told the king they were approved medicines, and
 “ would do him much good. And though the duke afterwards strove to purge himself for this application, as having
 “ received both medicine and plaister from Dr. *Remington*, at *Dunmow*, in *Essex*, who had often cured
 “ agues, and such distempers with the same ; yet they were arguments of a complicated kind not easy to
 “ unfold ; considering that whatsoever he received from the doctor in the country, he might apply to the
 “ king what he pleased in the court. Besides, the act itself (though it had been the best medicine in the
 “ world) was a *daring* not justifiable ; and some of the king’s physicians muttered against it, others made a
 “ great noise, and were forced to fly for it ; and though the still voice was quickly silenced by the
 “ duke’s power, yet the clamorous made so deep impressions, that his innocence could never wear them
 “ out.

of having been poisoned by *Buckingham*. He was buried with great magnificence at Westminster-

(a) Wilson,
p. 287.

“ out. And one of *Buckingham*’s great provocations
 “ was thought to be his fear, that the king being now
 “ weary of his too much greatness, and power, would
 “ set up *Bristol*, his deadly enemy against him to pull
 “ him down. And this medicine was one of those 13
 “ articles that after were laid to his charge in parlia-
 “ ment.” (a)—Dr. *Welwood* in his note on this passage
 observes, “ that Dr. *Eglisbam*, one of the king’s phy-
 “ sitians, was obliged to flee beyond seas, for some ex-
 “ pressions he had muttered about the manner of his
 “ majesty’s death, and lived at *Brussels* many years af-
 “ ter. It was there he published a book to prove king
 “ *James* was poisoned; giving a particular account of
 “ all the circumstances of his sickness, and laying his
 “ death upon the duke of *Buckingham* and his mother.
 “ —Among other remarkable passages, there is one
 “ about the plaister applyed to the king’s stomach.
 “ He says it was given out to have been *mithridate*,
 “ and, that one Dr. *Remington* had sent it to the duke,
 “ as a medicine with which he had cured a great many
 “ agues in *Essex*. Now *Eglisbam* denies it was *mi-*
 “ *thridate*, and says, neither he, nor any other phy-
 “ tians could tell what it was. He adds, that Sir *Mat-*
 “ *thew Lister* and he being the week after the king’s
 “ death, at the earl of *Warwick*’s house in *Essex*, they
 “ sent for Dr. *Remington*, who lived hard by, and ask-
 “ ing him what kind of plaister it was he had sent to
 “ *Buckingham*, for the cure of an ague, and whether
 “ he knew it was the king the duke designed it for?
 “ *Remington* answered, that one *Baker*, a servant of the
 “ dukes, came to him in his master’s name, and de-
 “ fired him if he had any certain specific remedy against
 “ an ague, to send it him: and accordingly he sent
 “ him *mithridate* spread upon leather, but knew not
 “ till then that it was designed for the king. But,
 “ continues *Eglisbam*, Sir *Matthew Lister*, and I shew-
 “ ing

minster-Abby, (a) on the seventh of May following; his son and successor *Charles* following

(a) Gibbon's
Cambden,
Vol. I. p.
586.

“ ing him a piece of the plaister we had kept, after it
“ was taken off, he seemed greatly surprized, and of-
“ fer'd to take his corporal oath, that it was none of
“ what he had given *Baker*, nor did he know what
“ kind of mixture it was.—But the truth is, this
“ book of *Eglisbam*'s is wrote with such an air of ran-
“ cour and prejudice, that the manner of his narrative
“ takes off much from the credit of what he writes.”

(b)——The parliament in the year 1626, charged *Buckingham* with having caused certain plaisters, and a certain

(b) Compleat
history, Vol.
II. p. 790. *

* It is to be wished *Welwood* had given us the title of this book of *Eglisbam*. In the second volume of the Harleian Miscellany there is a tract intituled the *Forerunner* of revenge. Being two petitions: the one to king's most excellent majesty; the other to the most honourable houses of parliament. Wherein are expressed divers actions of the late earl of *Buckingham*, especially concerning the death of king *James*, and the marquis of *Hamilton*, supposed by poison. By George *Eglisbam*, doctor of physick, and one of the physicians to king *James*, of happy memory, for his majesty's person above ten years, 4to. Lond. 1642, though it appears to have been written in *Buckingham*'s life time, and I doubt not, was then printed. There is an air of rancour and prejudice in this small piece; but not a word of what Dr. *Welwood* relates.

“ The king, says he, being sick of an ague, the duke took this opportunity, when all the king's doctors of physick were at dinner, and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, would to God I had never taken it.”—He then tells us of “ the countess of *Buckingham*'s, applying the plaister to the king's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, and short breathed and in agony. That the physicians exclaimed that the king was poisoned; that *Buckingham* commanded them out of the room, and caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; and that after his majesty's death, his body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes ” See Harleian Miscellany, Vol. II. p. 71, 4to. Lond. 1744. If this was the book in which Dr. *Welwood* remembered to have read what I have quoted in the note, his memory discharged its office but very ill. However I rather suspect, there is a larger account of *Eglisbam*'s in print, than that *Welwood* should have invented.

lowing, attending his interment; Dr. Williams, lord keeper, and bishop of Lincolne,

certain drink to be provided for the use of his majesty king *James*, without the privity or direction of the physitians, and compounded of several ingredients to them unknown, notwithstanding the same plaisters, or some plaister like thereunto, having been formerly administered unto him, did produce such ill effects as that some of the physitians did disallow thereof, and utterly refuse to meddle any further with his majesty, until these plaisters were removed, as being prejudicial to his health, yet the same plaisters, and drink was provided by the duke, and the plaisters applied to the king's breast and wrist, and the drink given to him at seasons prohibited by the physitians. After which, they set forth, divers ill symptoms appeared upon his majesty, and his majesty attributed the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which the duke had given him. (c) The duke in his answer insists on his innocency, declaring that the drink and plaister were procured by the kings own desire, on his recommendation; that by his own command they were applied; that he (*Buckingham*) gave the drink in the presence of some of the physitians, who tasted it, and did not shew their dislike of it; and that when he told the king it was rumour'd that the physick he had gave him, had done him hurt, his majesty with much discontent answered, they are worse than the devils that say it. (d) The commons having received a copy of the dukes answer from the lords, say "they shall presently reply in such sort, according to the laws of parliament, that unless his power and practice undermine our proceedings, we do not doubt but we upon the same have judgment against him." (e) But his power and practice so far undermined their proceedings, that a dissolution soon followed, by which they were prevented from producing their proofs of what they had asserted. This made a deep impression on mens minds, and caused them to apprehend that *James* had not

(c) See
Rushworth,
Vol. I. p.
351.

(d) Rush-
worth, Vol.
I. p. 389.

(e) Id. p.
403.

colne, preached his funeral sermon, which
soon

not had fair play for his life. The hindering a parliamentary inquiry into the death of a king, by putting an end to the parliament itself, had an odd appearance, and caused many to think that there was more at the bottom than it was convenient should see the light.—I will add a passage from *Burnett*, to what has been now produced, which, if true, will pretty well clear up this matter. “ King *James*, says he, in the end of his “ reign was become weary of the duke of *Buckingham*, “ who treated him with such an air of insolent contempt, “ that he seemed at last resolved to throw him off, but “ could not think of taking the load of government on “ himself, and so resolved to bring the earl of *Somerset* “ again into favour, as that lord reported it to some from “ whom I had it. He met with him in the night, in “ the gardens at *Theobalds*: Two bed-chamber men “ were only in the secret; the king embraced him tenderly and with many tears. The earl of *Somerset* believed the secret was not well kept; for soon after the “ king was taken ill with some fits of an ague and died. “ My father was then in London, and did very much “ suspect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Dr. “ *Craig*, my mother’s uncle, who was one of the king’s “ physicians, possessed him with these apprehensions; “ for he was disgraced for saying he believed the king “ was poisoned.” (f) These are the foundations on which the suspicion of *James*’s being poisoned by *Buckingham* relies. Whether any thing more than suspicion arises from them, must be left to the reader to determine. Lord *Clarendon*, who could not be ignorant of a good part of what has been now related, speaking of *James*’s death, says “ it was occasioned by an ague, “ (after a short indisposition by the gout) which meeting many humours in a fat unweildy body of 58 “ years old, in four or five fits carried him out of the “ world. After whose death, adds he, many scandalous and libellous discourses were raised without the least colour, or ground: as appeared upon the strictest
R “ and

(f) *Burnett*, Vol. I.
P. 20.

soon after was printed with the title of Great Britain's Salomon, [4 F] full of the most

(g) Clarendon, Vol. I, p. 24.

“ and most malicious examination that could be made, long after, in a time of licence, when no body was afraid of offending majesty, and when prosecuting the highest reproaches and contumelies against the royal family, was held very meritorious.” (g) This is talking with a great air of authority indeed! was there no colour or ground for suspicion of foul play, when *Buckingham* himself owned that he had recommended the plaister and drink to the king, and had them administered to him, without consulting the physicians? was there no ground for such a suspicion, when some of his majesty's own physicians believed it, and the king himself attributed the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which the duke had given him? had the house of commons no colour or ground to impeach the duke of *Buckingham* for his behaviour in this affair? or were they the authors of the scandalous and libellous discourses that were raised about it? A writer who gives himself such a strange liberty of censuring, ought to be pretty sure he is in the right, or otherwise he stands but a very poor chance of being believed. Will. *Sanderson*, very roundly says, “ that what *Buckingham* gave *James* to drink was a posset drink of milk and ale, hartshorn, and marygold flowers, ingredients harmless and ordinary. and though, says he, the doctors were offended that any one durst assume this boldness (of applying the plaister) without their consent; by after examination, all men then were assured of the composition, and a piece thereof eaten down by such as made it; and the plaister many months afterwards in being for further tryal of any suspicion of poyson.” (b) The reader must give what credit to this he thinks it deserves, for my own part, I doubt it is apocryphal.

(b) *Sanderson's* reign of k. *James*, p. 592, he had given almost the very same account before, in his *anlicus coquinarie*, p. 194.

[4 F] Dr. *Williams* preached and printed his funeral sermon, with the title of Great Britain's Salomon.] This

most gross flattery, and palpable untruths;
infomuch

This sermon is a curiosity and deserves to be known, as it gives us a speciman of the gross flattery of those times. His text was 1 Kings, xi. 41, 42, and part of 43 verse. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Salomon; and the time that Salomon reigned in Hierusalem over all Israel, was forty years. And Salomon slept with his father's, and was buried in the city of David his father." After having mentioned the text he begins thus: "Most high and mighty, most honourable, worshipful and well beloved in our lord, and saviour Jesus Christ; it is not I, but this woful accident that chuseth this text." He proceeds then to consider it as applicable to Solomon; and afterwards compares him, and James first as it were in one general lump, or mould, says he, that you may see by the oddness of their proportion, how they differ from all kings besides. And then with a particular examination of the parts of my text, that you may observe by the several members, how well they resemble the one the other.

"For the bulke or the mould, I dare presume to say, you never read in your lives, of two kings more fully parallel'd amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Salomon is said to be unigenitus coram matre sua, the only sonne of his mother, prov. 4. 3. So was king James. Salomon was of a complexion white, and ruddy, Canticl. v. 10. So was king James. Salomon was an infant king, puer parvulus, a little child, 1 Chron. xxii. 5. so was king James a king at the age of thirteen months. Salomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor, 1 Kings i. 32. so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late soveraigne king James. Salomon was twice crowned, and anoynted a king, 1 Chron. xxix. 22. so was king James. Salomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former soveraigne; so was that of king James. Salomon was learned above all the princes of the east,

The LIFE of JAMES I.

inſomuch that inſtead of celebrating his memory, he has only expoſed it.—*James*, by his

“ 1 kings iv. 30. ſo was king *James* above all the prin-
 “ ces in the univerſal world, *Salomon* was a writer in
 “ proſe, and verſe, 1 Kings iv. 32. ſo in a very pure
 “ and exquisite manner was our ſweet ſovereign king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was the greateſt patron we ever
 “ read of to church, and churchmen; and yet no grea-
 “ ter (let the houſe of Aaron now confeſs) than king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was honoured with ambaffadors
 “ from all the kings of the earth, 1 Kings, iv. laſt
 “ verſe; and ſo you know was king *James*. *Salomon*
 “ was a main improver of his home commodities, as
 “ you may ſee in his trading with *Hiram*, 1 Kings v.
 “ 9. and, God knows, it was the daily ſtudy of king
 “ *James*. *Salomon* was a great maintainer of ſhipping
 “ and navigation, 1 Kings x. 14. a moſt proper at-
 “ tribute to king *James*. *Salomon* beautified very much
 “ his capital city, with buildings and water-works, 1
 “ Kings ix. 15. ſo did king *James*. Every man lived
 “ in peace under his vine, and his fig-tree, in the days
 “ of *Salomon*, 1 Kings iv. 25. and ſo they did in the
 “ bleſſed days of king *James*. And yet towards his
 “ end king *Salomon* had ſecret enemies, *Razan*, *Hadad*,
 “ and *Jeroboam*, and prepared for a warre upon his
 “ going to his grave; ſo had, and ſo did king *James*.
 “ Laſtly, before any hoſtile act we read of in the hiſ-
 “ tory, king *Salomon* died in peace, when he had lived
 “ about 60 years, and ſo you know did king

(a) Great
 Britains Sa-
 lomon, p.
 37.

“ *James*.” (a)

One would think this had been enough of all con-
 ſcience; but the right reverend preacher proceeds ac-
 cording to the method of his text, “ to poliſh and refine
 “ the members of this ſtatue in their diviſion, and par-
 “ ticular. In his ſtile, ſays he, you may obſerve the
 “ *Eccleſiaſtes*, in his figures the *Canticles*, in his ſen-
 “ tences the *Proverbs*, and in his whole diſcourſe, reli-
 “ quum verborum *Salomonis*, all the reſt that was ad-
 “ mirable in the eloquence of *Salomon*.——From
 “ his

his queen, *Ann of Denmark*, had issue besides
Charles

“ his saying I come to his doings. Quæ fecerit, all that
“ he did. Every action of his sacred majesty was a
“ virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any pa-
“ rallel amongst the moderne kings and princes. Of
“ all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most
“ constant patron of churches and churchmen.——I
“ will speak it boldly, in the presence here of God and
“ men, that I believe in my soul, and conscience, there
“ never lived a more constant, resolute, and settled
“ protestant in point of doctrine than our late soveraigne,
“ ——Through all Europe no more question was
“ made of his being just, than of his being king.——He
“ was resolute enough, and somewhat too forward in
“ those unapproachable places (the Highlands) scatter-
“ ing his enemies as much with his example, as he did
“ with his forces. Besides these adventures of his per-
“ son, he was unto his people, to the hour of his death,
“ another cherubim with a flaming sword, to keep out
“ enemies from this paradise of ours.”

After flourishing upon his political wisdom and learn-
ed works, he goes on to let his hearers know “ that as
“ he lived like a king, so he died like a saint. All his
“ latter days he spent in prayer, sending his thoughts
“ before into heaven, to be the harbingers of his happy
“ soul. Some foure days before his end he desired to re-
“ ceive the blessed sacrament, and said he was prepared
“ for it by faith and charitie. He repeated the articles
“ of the creed, and after the absolution had been read
“ and pronounced, he received the sacrament with
“ that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been a fraile
“ man, but a cherubim cloathed with flesh and blood,
“ he twice, or thrice repeated Domine Jesu, veni cito;
“ and after the prayer usually said at the hour of death,
“ was ended, his lords and servants kneeling, without
“ any pangs or convulsions at all, dormivit Salomon,
“ Salomon slept. And his soul, adds the good bishop,
“ severed from the dregs of the body, doth now enjoy
“ an eternal *dreaming* in the presence of God, environ’d
“ no

Charles who succeeded him, and *Elizabeth*,
who

(b) Great
Britains Sa-
lomon, p.
73.

“ no more with lords and knights, but with troupes of
“ angels, and the souls of the blessed, called in this
“ text his fore-runners or fathers; and Salomon slept
“ with his fathers.” (b)—This was the character given
of *James* before those who were acquainted well with
him: and yet, I believe there is no one, who reads it
now but will think it somewhat too panegyric for the
pulpit. But indeed the bishops strived (as he had been
so great a friend to churchmen) to outvie each other in
praising him; and consequently we can take no mea-
sures of the truth from their descriptions. *Laud* ob-
serves of him, that it was little less than a miracle, that
so much sweetness should be found in so great heart;
that clemency, mercy, and justice, were eminent in
him; that he was not only a preserver of peace at home,
but the great peace-maker abroad; that he was bounti-
ful, and the greatest patron of the church; that he was
the most learned prince in matters of religion, and most
orthodox therein; that he devoutly received the blessed
sacrament, and approved of absolution; that he called
for prayers, was full of patience at his death, and had his
rest in Abraham’s bosom. (c)

(c) See Rush-
worth, Vol.
1. p. 156.

Spotswood determining not to be out done by *Williams*
and *Laud*, declares “ that he was the *Salomon* of this
“ age, admired for his wise government, and for his
“ knowledge in all manner of learning. For his wis-
“ dom, moderation, love of justice, for his patience,
“ and piety (which shined above all his other virtues,
“ and is witnessed in the learned works he left to pos-
“ terity.) his name shall never be forgotten, but remain
“ in honor so long as the world endureth.” (d)

(d) Church
history, p.
546.

These are the characters given of *James* by three of the highest
rank in the church; which yet have had the misfor-
tune to be little credited by disinterested posterity. And
therefore Dr. *Grey* did not do quite so right in referring
to *Spotswood*’s character of *James*, as a vindication of
him from what he had been charged with by his adver-
sary. (e) For court-bishops, by some fate or other,
from

(e) Exami-
nation of
Neale’s se-
cond volume,
p. 77.

married *Frederick*, prince Palatine of the Rhyne,

from the time of *Constantine*, down at least to the death of *James*, and a little after, have had the characters of flatterers, panegyrists, and others of like import; and therefore are always to have great abatements made in their accounts of those who have been their benefactors: it being well known, that such they endeavour to hand down to posterity under the notion of saints, as they always blacken and defame their adversaries.

I have just observed that disinterested posterity have given little credit to the panegyrics of the three right reverends: I will give a proof or two of it, and then conclude this note. *Burnett* tells us, “ that *James* “ was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry “ writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was “ despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favours, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the “ corruption of Spain.” (f) — Lord *Bolingbroke* observes (f) *Burnett*, Vol. I. p. 21. of him, “ that he had no virtues to set off, but he had “ failings and vices to conceal. He could not conceal “ the latter; and, void of the former, he could not “ compensate for them. His failings and his vices “ therefore stand in full view, he passed for a weak “ prince and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt “ wherein his memory remains to this day.” (g) — (g) *Letters on patriotism*, p. 214. Lord *Orrery*, says, “ the character of queen *Elizabeth* “ has been exalted by the want of merit in her successor, from whose misconduct gushed forth that torrent “ of misery, which not only bore down his son, but “ overwhelmed the three kingdoms.” (h)

In the *Abbe Raynal*'s history of the parliament of England, we read “ that *James* wanted to be pacific, “ and he was only indolent; wise, and he was only “ irresolute; just, and he was only timid; moderate, “ and he was only soft; good, and he was only weak; “ a divine, and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher, “ and he was only extravagant; a doctor, and he was “ only a pedant. No one ever carried the pretensions

(b) *Remarks on the life and writing of Swift*, p. 208.

Rhyne, (well known to the world by their misfortunes) *Henry*, [4 G] a prince of a most amiable

“ of the crown further than *James*, and few princes
 “ have contributed so much to villify it.—This prince
 “ found it easier to suffer injuries than to revenge them;
 “ to dispense with the public esteem, than to merit it;
 “ and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, than to
 “ trouble his repose by maintaining them. He lived on
 “ the throne like a private man in his family; he re-
 “ tained of the royalty only the gift of healing the evil,
 “ which is attributed to the kings of England. One
 “ would have said he was only a passenger in the vessel
 “ of which he ought to have been the pilot. This in-
 “ action made his days pass in obscurity, and prepared a
 “ tragical reign for his successor.” (i)——Thus has the
 name of *James* been treated by the most disinterested
 and unbiassed; whether the judgment of his courtiers
 who had been greatly favoured by him, is to be set in the
 ballance with the opinion of these writers is left to the
 reader.

(i) See the
 monthly re-
 view for the
 year 1751.
 p. 448. 8vo.

[4 G] Prince *Henry* was of a most amiable disposition, and excellent genius.] This I take to be literally true; otherwise I would not have been at the trouble of saying any thing about him. He was born at Striveling, Feb. 19, 1594, and committed to the care of the earl of *Mar*, (the family of *Erskin*, earl of *Mar*, was always governor of the king's children, from the time the *Stuarts* mounted the throne;) by the following letter writ by his majesty's own hand.

My lord of *Marre*,

“ **B**Ecause in the surety of my son, consisteth my
 “ surety, and I have concredited unto you the charge
 “ of his keeping, upon the trust I have of your honesty;
 “ this I command you out of my own mouth, being in
 “ the

amiable disposition and excellent genius ; the
darling

“ the company of those I like ; otherwise for any charge
“ or necessity that can come from me, you shall not de-
“ liver him ; and in case God call me at any time, see
“ that neither for the queen nor estates their pleasure,
“ you deliver him till he be 18 years of age, and that he
“ command you himself.

“ Striveling, 24th of
“ July, 1595.” (a)

(a) Spotf-
wood,
p. 410.

In obedience to this command, lord *Mar* kept the prince, and refused to deliver him to the queen his mother, in the year 1603, till the duke of *Lennox* was sent with a warrant to receive him, and delivered him to the queen. Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Adam Newton*, was his tutor, by whose instructions he is said to have profited greatly. “ He was, says Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, of a
“ comely, tall, middle stature, about five foot and
“ eight inches high, of a strong, straight well-made
“ body, with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small
“ waste, of an amiable majestick countenance, his hair
“ of an aborne colour, long faced, and broad fore-
“ head, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile,
“ with a terrible frown, courteous, loving and affable ;
“ his favour like the sun, indifferently seeming to shine
“ upon all ; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most
“ patient, which he shewed both in life and death.—
“ Diffimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a
“ prince, not willing, nor by nature being able to flat-
“ ter, fawne, or use those kindly who deserved not his
“ love. Quick he was to conceive any thing, not rash
“ but mature in deliberation, yet most constant, having
“ resolved. True of his promise, most secret even from
“ his youth ; so that he might have been trusted in any
“ thing that did not force a discovery ; being of a close
“ disposition not easy to be known, or pried into : of a
“ fearless,

darling of the people whilst living, and greatly

“ fearless, noble, heroic, and undaunted courage,
 “ thinking nothing impossible, that ever was done by
 “ any. He was ardent in his love to religion, which
 “ love, and all the good causes thereof, his heart was
 “ bent by some means or other (if he had lived) to have
 “ shewed, and some way to have compounded the un-
 “ kind jars thereof.

“ He made conscience of an oath, and was never
 “ heard to take God’s name in vain. He hated popery,
 “ tho’ he was not unkind to the persons of papists.—He
 “ loved and did mightily strive to do somewhat of every
 “ thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He great-
 “ ly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts,
 “ and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars,
 “ both by sea and land : In the bravery and number of
 “ great horses ; in shooting and levelling of great pieces
 “ of ordnance ; in the ordering and marshalling of
 “ armes ; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of
 “ rare musique, chiefly the trumpet and drum ; in
 “ limning and painting, carving in all sorts of excellent
 “ and rare pictures, which he had brought unto him
 “ from all countries.” (b) Thus speaks, of prince

(b) The
 short life and
 much la-
 mented
 death of
 Henry
 prince of

Wales, by
 Sir Charles
 Cornwallis,
 8vo. 1644.
 p. 93—101.

(c) Swift and
 Pope’s mis-
 cellanies,
 Vol. I. p.

307. 12mo.

Lond. 1731.

See also Of-
 born, p.

527.

Henry, Sir Charles *Corwallis*, treasurer of his household.
 But without other authorities, I should lay very little
 stress on his book, which looks more like a panegyric
 than a history :——And we find it observed by a fine
 writer, “ that princes in their infancy, childhood, and
 “ youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit,
 “ to speak things that surprize and astonish : strange,
 “ adds he, so many hopeful princes, and so many
 “ shameful kings ! if they happen to die young they
 “ would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue : if
 “ they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of
 “ another sort.” (c)—However ’tis certain, prince
 Henry had very great merit. “ The government of
 “ his house was with much discretion, modesty, so-
 “ briety,

ly lamented after his death; which (though his phyſitians declared to the contrary) was ſuppoſed

“briety, and in an high reverence to piety, not ſwear-
“ing himſelf, or keeping any that did. He was not
“only plauſible in his carriage, but juſt in payments, ſo
“far as his credit out reached the kings both in the ex-
“change and the church. (d) He was an enemy to op- (d) Id. p.
“preſſion and injuſtice; for hearing the king had given 528.

“Sherburn-Caſtle to Sir Robert *Car*, he came with
“ſome anger to his father, deſiring he would be pleaſ-
“ed to beſtow Sherburn upon him, alledging that it
“was a place of great ſtrength and beauty, which he
“much liked, but indeed with an intention of giving
“it back to Sir Walter *Raleigh*, whom he much eſteem-
“ed.” (e) The ſame noble diſpoſition he ſhewed to- (e) Raleigh’s
“wards Sir Robert *Dudley*, who was deprived of his ho- works, Vol.
“nors and eſtate by the injuſtice of *James*. “He made over- I. p. 117.

“tures to Sir *Robert*, ſays king *Charles*, to obtain his
“title in *Kenilworth* caſtle, &c. and bought it of him
“for fourteen thouſand five hundred pounds, and pro-
“miſed to reſtore him in honors and fortunes.” (f)—— (f) Patent
“This prince was the patron of the ſtudies of Sir Walter for creating
Raleigh, for whoſe abilities he had an high eſteem, and
“who drew up for his uſe, a diſcourſe touching a match
“between the lady *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Piedmont*; duchefs of
“observations concerning the royal navy and ſea ſervice; England.
“and a letter touching the model of a ſhip. And in the
“year 1611, “that worthy ſeaman, Sir Thomas *Button*,
“ſervant to prince *Henry*, purſued the north-weſt diſ-
“coveries at the inſtigatation of that glorious young
“prince.” (g)——And very certain ’tis that he endea- (g) Ac-
“voured well to underſtand ſtate affairs, and applied him- count of ſe-
“ſelf to get a thorough knowledge of them; the duke of veral late
Sully aſſures us “that as ſoon as he had obtained his fa- voyages, e-
“ther’s promiſe that he would, at leaſt, not obſtruct his dit. 1711. in
“proceedings, he prevented *Henry*’s (the fourth’s) wiſhes; the introduc-
“being animated with a thirſt of glory, and a deſire tion, p. 15.

“to

supposed to be by poison: but however that be, certain 'tis, *James* was little affected with it.

(b) *Memoirs of Sully*, Vol. I. p. 97.

(i) *Welwood's memoirs*, p. 20.

(k) *Winwood*, Vol. III. p. 45.

“ to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of
 “ *Henry*: for he was to marry the eldest daughter of
 “ France. He wrote me several letters hereupon, and
 “ therein expressed himself in the manner I have men-
 “ tioned.” (b) Agreeably hereunto, Dr. *Welwood* says,
 “ the duke of *Sully*, being in England——laid the
 “ foundation of a strict friendship betwixt his master
 “ and prince *Henry*; which was afterwards carried on
 “ by letters and messages till the death of that king.
 “ Tho’ its a secret to this day what was the real design
 “ of all those vast preparations that were made by *Henry*
 “ the fourth before his death: yet I have seen some pa-
 “ pers which make it more than probable, that prince
 “ *Henry* was not only acquainted with the secret, but
 “ was engaged in the design.” (i)——Sir Charles
 “ *Cornwallis* having written to him from Spain, where
 “ he was ambassador, prince *Henry* in a letter to him, re-
 “ plies, “ that he must particularly thank him for impart-
 “ ing to him his observations of that state, whereof,
 “ says he, I will make the best use I may; and since
 “ that is a study very well besitting me, and wherein I
 “ delight, I will desire you to acquaint me further in
 “ that kind as occasions shall be offered; that thereby the
 “ more ye may deserve my readiness to acknowledge it.”
 “ (k)——Before Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s departure to France,
 “ prince *Henry* engaged him to communicate to him the
 “ course of things there; and on the second of September,
 “ Mr. *Adam* (afterwards Sir *Adam*) *Newton*, wrote from
 “ Richmond to Sir *Thomas*, to remind him of his promise to
 “ his royal highness. “ This opportunity offering itself so
 “ fitly, maketh me call unto your remembrance a pro-
 “ mise, which his highness allegeth you made unto him
 “ at your departure, of imparting to him such occur-
 “ rences, as that country yeildeth. I find his highness
 “ doth expect it; and therefore I presume to acquaint
 “ you

it. His other children were *Sophia*, and
Mary,

“ you therewith.—The French perceived very early the
“ forwardness of this young prince, and thought pro-
“ per to try to secure him to their interest; for secre-
“ tary *Villeroy* wrote to monsieur *de la Boderie*, the
“ French ambassador in England, from Fontainebleau,
“ the 18th of July, 1608, N. S. that king *Henry* the
“ fourth had told him, that he had more desire than
“ ever to seek the friendship of the prince of *Wales*,
“ and, for that purpose, to gratify those about him, as
“ that ambassador should judge fit; since that king
“ foresaw, that the prince would soon hold a rank wor-
“ thy of him in *England*, on account of the little es-
“ teem, which was had of the queen and king.” (l)

(l) Birch's
view of the
negotiations,
p. 327.

And there is a letter of prince *Henry's* to Sir Thomas
Edmondes, dated September 10, 1612, urging him in a
strong and masterly manner to prosecute the scheme of
uniting the princes of the blood, and the heads of the
protestant party in France, against the ministers of that
court. (m)—From these authorities I presume, we may

(m) Id. p.
361.

with great truth affirm that this young prince was possess-
ed of a most amiable disposition and excellent genius.
In short he was the very reverse of his father, and there-
fore not much esteemed by him. “ The vivacity,
“ spirit, and activity of the prince soon gave umbrage
“ to his father's court, which grew extremely jealous of
“ him: and Sir Thomas *Edmondes*, though at a
“ distance, seems to have been sensible of this, and to
“ have been more cautious on that account of corres-
“ ponding with his royal highness.” (n)

(n) Birch's
view, p.
326.

And the prince was so sensible of his want of influence in his fa-
ther's court, that in a letter of his to Sir Thomas, da-
ted September 10, 1612, he excuses himself from inter-
posing in Sir Thomas's favour, with regard to asking
preferment for him; “ because as matters go now here,
“ says he, I will deal in no businesses of importance for
“ some respects.” (o) *Osborn* therefore seems to have
been well informed in saying “ that the king though he

(o) Id. p.
361.

“ would

Mary, who both died young, and were buried

(p) Of-
born, p.
531.

(q) See Bur-
nett, Vol.
I. p. 10.
Winwood,
Vol. III. p.
410.
Aulicus Co-
quinarizæ, p.
151.
Welwood's
note on wil-
son, in com-
pleat history,
Vol. II. p.
689.
(r) Birch's
view, p.
371.

(s) Ibid. p.
373.

“ would not deny any thing the prince plainly desired,
“ yet it appeared rather the result of fear and outward
“ compliance, than love or natural affection; being hard-
“ er drawn to confer an honor or pardon, in cases of de-
“ sert, upon a retainer of the prince, than a stranger.” (p)
However, he was the darling of the English nation, his
court was well filled, and his attendants were numerous;
in life he was highly beloved, after death equally la-
mented, by all but his father, and his favourite, *Ro-
chester*. “ November the 6th. 1612, proved fatal to
“ him, who died at the age of eighteen, at St. James’s
“ of a disease, with which he had been seized in the
“ preceding month: but the prevailing opinion of that
“ time, (q) and since adopted by some of our historians,
“ though contradicted by the unanimous report of his
“ physicians, was, that his end was hastened by poison.
“ And this notion received some countenance, from
“ the little concern, which was shewn at his death by
“ the court, though the nation considered it as an irre-
“ parable loss. For it made so little impression upon the
“ king and his favourite, that *Rochester*, on the 9th of
“ November, three days after that melancholy event,
“ wrote from Whitehall to Sir Thomas *Edmondès*, to
“ begin a negotiation for a marriage between prince
“ *Charles* and the second daughter of France.” (r)
Sir Thomas indeed had more sense of decency, and
therefore delayed it. This the king approved of on con-
sideration. For, says his majesty, “ it would have
“ been a very blunt thing in us, that you, our minister,
“ should so soone after such an irreparable losse received
“ by us, have begun to talk of marriage, the most
“ contrary thing that could be, to death and funeralls.”
(s)——This conduct is quite amazing! what must the
world judge of a father who was thus unaffected with
the death of a worthy virtuous son? If to be without
natural affection, shews the utmost depravity of the heart
of

buried with great solemnity at Westminster.

of man, we may without breach of charity, say that *James's* heart was utterly depraved. His passion for his favourite, extinguished his affection for his child; and, his weakness and worthlessness made him look on him as an object of terror, whom all mankind viewed with esteem and approbation. But the neglect of a father deprived not prince Henry of that reputation which he so well deserved. Posterity have founded forth his praises, and held him up to view as one worthy the imitation of all young princes; and where-ever his character is known, his memory will be highly honoured,



APPEN-



APPENDIX.

*Additions to the life of king James the first,
communicated by the reverend Dr. Birch,
secretary to the royal society.*

THE following books were published on occasion of king James I. *Triplici nodo Triplex Cuneus*, printed at first without his name. Cardinal Bellarmin published in 1608, under the name of *Matthæus Tortus*, a book in quarto intitled, *Responsio ad librum, cui titulus, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, sive apologia pro juramento fidelitatis, adversus duo brevia Papæ Pauli V, et recentes literas cardinalis Bellarmini ad Georgium Blackvellum, anglice archi-presbyterum*: reprinted at Rome, 1609, in quarto.

The king upon this answer republished his own book with his name, with a monitory preface.

In 1609, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then bishop of Chichester, published at London, in quarto, *Tortura Tort; sive ad Matthæi Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra apologiam fere-*

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serenissimi potentissimique principis Jacobi, Dei gratia, magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, pro juramento fidelitatis.

Cardinal Bellarmin published in 1610 in quarto, pro responsione sua ad librum Jacobi, magnæ Britanniae regis, cui titulus est, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, apologia.

To this Dr. Andrews, now Bishop of Ely, published at London, 1610, in quarto, Responsio ad apologiam cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra præfationem monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis, Jacobi, Dei gratia, magnæ Britanniae, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, omnibus christianis monarchis, principibus atque ordinibus inscriptam.

Nicolas Coeffetau, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles, published against the king's preface at Paris, in 1610, in octavo, *Response a l'avertissement, adresse par le serenissime Roy de la grande Bretagne Jacques I. a tous les princes et potentates de la chretiente.*

This was answered by Peter du Moulin, minister of Charenton, whose vindication of the king, was printed in French at Paris, in 1610 in octavo, and in Latin at London. The French title is, *Defence de la foy catholique, continue au livre de Jacques I. Roy d'angleterre contre la response de N. Coeffetau.*

Coeffetau replied to Peter du Moulin's book in his apologie pour la response a l'avertissement du serenissime Roy de la grande Bretagne, contre les accusations du Pierre du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, printed at Paris 1614, in octavo.

Mr. John Donne, afterwards doctor of divinity and dean of St. Paul's, wrote and published, before his entrance into orders, a quarto volume,

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printed

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printed at London in 1610, in support of the king's defences of the oath of allegiance, Pseudomartyr: " wherein out of certaine propositions " and gradations, this conclusion is evicted, that " those, which are of the Romane religion in " this kingdom, may, and ought to take the " oath of allegiance."

Father Parsons, the jesuit, published at St. Omers in 1608, in quarto, the judgment of a catholic gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance: answered by Dr. William Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Wood, Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 362.

Martinus Becanus published at Mentz in 1610 in octavo, *refutatio apologiæ et monitoriæ præfationis Jacobi regis Angliæ*—and *Refutatio torturæ torti contra facellanum regis Angliæ*.

Dr. William Tooker, dean of Litchfield, answer'd him in his *Certamen cum Martino Becano, futiliter refutante apologiam Jacobi regis*, printed in 1611, in octavo at London.

Becanus replied to Dr. Tooker in his *Duellum cum Gulielmo Tooker de primatu regis Angliæ*, printed at Mentz in octavo; where he published likewise the same year, and in the same form, a book against bishop Andrews, intituled *Controversia Anglicana de potestate regis et pontificis contra Lancellottum Andræam*.

To which last book of Becanus an answer was given by Robert Burhill, intituled, *Contra Becani controversiam anglicanam assertio pro jure regis, proque episcopi Eliensis responsione ad apologiam Bellarmini*; London 1613, in octavo—Mr. Richard Harris published likewise an answer in Latin at London, 1612 in octavo, to Becanus's *controversia anglicana*.

Leonardus

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Leonardus Lessius wrote against the king's præfatio monitoria, in a book printed at Antwerp, 1611, in octavo, and intitled de antichristo et ejus præcursoribus disputatio, qua refutatur præfatio monitoria Jacobi regis magnæ Britanniae.

This was answered by Dr. George Downame, afterwards bishop of London-Derry in Ireland, in his book, called, Papa Antichristus, seu diatriba duabus partibus, quarum prior 6 Libris vindicat Jacobi regis sententiam de antichristo, posterior refutat Leonardi Lessii 16 demonstrationes regis præfationi monitoriæ oppositas: London 1620.

Francis Suares, the Jesuit, attacked the king's apology for the oath of allegiance in his defensio fidei catholicæ contra anglicanæ sectæ errores, una cum responsione ad Jacobi regis apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis, printed at Coimbra in 1613, and at Mentz in 1619.

Leonardus Cocquæus, an Augustinian monk, published at Friburg in 1610, examen præfationis apologiæ Jacobi regis pro juramento fidelitatis.

James Gretser, the jesuit, in 1610 printed at Ingolstadt, Βασιλικὸν Δεῶρον, seu commentarius exegeticus in Jacobi regis magnæ Britanniae præfationem monitoriam, et in ejusdem apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis.

Andræas Eudæmon-Johannes wrote against bishop Andrews, in his parallelus Torti et tortoris ejus L. Cicestrensis, seu responsio ad torturam Torti pro Roberto Bellarmino; Colen in 1611.

This was replied to by Dr. Samuel Collins, Regius Professer of divinity at Cambridge, in a book,

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book, printed there in quarto, under the title of
“ Incepatio Andreæ Endæmon-Johannis de
infami parallelo, et renovata assertio torturæ
Torti pro episcopo elienfi.—He published
likewise at Cambridge in 1617, in quarto
Epphata to T. T. or a defense of the bishop of
Ely concerning his answer to cardinal Bellarmin’s
apology, against the calumnies of a scandalous
pamphlet.”

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